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“—FIAT JUSTITIA.—”

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ART. I.—NAPLES, POLITICAL AND LITERARY.

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3. *Memoirs of the Secret Societies of the South of Italy, particularly the Carbonari.* Translated from the original MS. London, 1821.

BEFORE we enter into the various topics of Count Orloff's elaborate work, or touch upon the subjects treated in the two other books whose titles are prefixed to our article, we must be allowed to linger a while amidst some of the recollections which the word "Naples" awakens in our minds. Those who have visited the southern metropolis of Italy, and those who are yet strangers to that delightful country, will, perhaps, be equally disposed to accord us the indulgence.

A magnificent chain of hills, forming a semicircular line, encloses a vast expanse of waters. Of this line the eastern and western boundaries are the celebrated promontories of Misenus and Minerva. The whole extent of coast is beautifully indented with bays, while the gigantic heights of Pausilypus boldly project into the gulph, dividing it into two parts nearly equal.

It is scarcely possible not to survey such scenes with the mind as well as the eye: they recall at the same instant the great vicissitudes of polity and empire, and those more awful vicissitudes



which have changed the face of external nature. It was here that the masters of the world erected the luxurious villas, where they respired from the cares of state and the tumults of ambition. These delicious retreats rivalled the magnificence of Rome. Baths, theatres, galleries of sculpture and painting, splendid libraries, combined all that could delight the senses or inform the understanding: nor could a region more adapted for recreation or repose than the shores of Naples have been chosen. A serene climate, a cloudless sky, a landscape where nature seems to stretch herself out in ease and luxuriance, tepid springs ministering alike to health and enjoyment;—such were the seductions that drew the elder Romans from the smoke and din of the metropolis. Down to the sea every hill was decorated with magnificence. Misenum extended itself to Baiæ; Baiæ to Puteoli. By degrees, edifices, both public and private, presented to the eye one continuous city from Misenum to Surrentum. Strabo has preserved the name of the towns which formed this beautiful chain. They were chiefly Misenum, Baiæ, Dicæarchea or Puteoli, Neapolis, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiæ, and Surrentum. Of these places enough subsists even now to attest their former greatness. Separated only by short distances from each other, each of them had its theatre, its circus, its forum, its temples. Every house was decorated with images of bronze and marble, every floor with mosaic pavements, every wall with arabesques and frescoes.

But these splendours were to be soon extinguished. Nature had already given the voluptuous inhabitants of these favoured climes her most terrific warnings. Concussions of the earth were frequent some years before the time of Pliny; but Vesuvius had hitherto indicated no signs of eruption. The surrounding district was fertile; and every part of its circumference, when Strabo saw it, was clothed with vines and olive-trees. It was in the first year of the reign of Titus, the 79th of our era, that this tremendous volcano burst forth, and Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiæ, were buried in its ashes. The calamity, however, did not extend to the western side of the gulph, and Naples remained uninjured. From this period, however, it is evident, that the Romans ceased to frequent this beautiful country. Juvenal speaks of Cuma as being already deserted. From the same period also, it appears that similar disasters successively happened. In some places, the sea, by a sudden incursion, claimed to its empire many of the proudest monuments of art and opulence, which once embellished the coast. The whole aspect of the country attests a long series of desolations. The Lucrinè lake, whose oysters were so much esteemed by the *gourmands* of antiquity, has wholly disappeared.

At present, the space between Misenum and Puteoli presents nothing to the eye but a sterile and uninhabited waste. Mephitic vapours, swamps occasioned by stagnant waters, which have for years escaped from broken aqueducts, communicate infectious taints to an atmosphere which once breathed only health and gladness. "C'est comme un crêpe funebre," says a French traveller, "qui couvre tout la côte, et semble annoncer au voyageur qu'il ne trouvera plus dans ce lieu si vanté, que des debris et des tombeaux." Of the memorable Baia, the site is indistinctly indicated by a few scattered reliques. Puteoli is indeed still inhabited by a few fishermen, but owes even this scanty population to its having been built on a point of land, which, jutting out into the sea, resisted the shocks that desolated the rest of the coast.

On leaving Puteoli, the scene assumes a gayer aspect. At some distance rises the western peak of Pausilypus; and the same glance lights upon the small island of Nicida, clad in vivid verdure, and rising serenely above the waters. But no sooner do we pass Pausilypus, than a new creation unfolds itself, and the eye wanders delighted amongst white buildings, half seen through luxuriant foliage, profusely scattered over the landscape. In the bosom of this magnificent scene is NAPLES, with her gilded spires, her fortresses, her palaces, her beautiful bay, beaming with those countless smiles,

ποντίς τε κύματος  
ανήριθμον γέλασμα——

and reflecting from its smooth bosom the magnificence and beauty of the surrounding scenery. In the back ground of this enchanting picture, stands Vesuvius, in stern, but not unpleasing grandeur. The plain beneath is cheered by the playful and desultory windings of the river Sebeto, which refreshes and fructifies a considerable territory. From east to south of the gulph rises a ridge of mountains clothed in green, and covered with villages. The whole prospect is bounded by Cape Minerva, which seems to smile in scorn on the noisy foam at its base. Not far from this promontory is the little island of Caprea, the retreat and brothel of the infamous Tiberius. The air is so fine and transparent, as to invest every object in colours not its own; the soil so fertile, that it scarcely asks the hand of the husbandman. As in the time of Strabo, it still yields three successive harvests, and an abundance of fruit. The scene is thickly interspersed with fig-trees, poplars, and beeches, whose trunks the rambling vine embraces and adorns, and whose arched boughs form a roof of verdure to shield the growing crops from too intense a sun.

We do not affect to pourtray Naples. Ample, indeed, would have been the subjects for the Asmodeus of Le Sage, had he sought them in the various and motley scenes of that various and motley metropolis, with its fantastic population, winding along the streets, and its endless succession of grotesque characters elbowing and jostling each other, all dressed as if to take their parts in the pantomime! The interior of its mansions—what unbounded materials would they not disclose to his satire, as he surveyed from the heights of St. Elmo their uncovered roofs? Decaying beauty, no longer able to attract, yet unwilling to fade, invoking in vain the powers of the toilette to her aid.—The hungry *pulietto* (advocate) conning by heart his long and laboured pleading, which on the morrow is to lull both judges and auditory to their morning slumber.—A famished poet, smoothing and grinding his sonnet, or ottavas, to celebrate, for a few ducats, the nuptials of some shrivelled and puny prince or duke, who is to be compared to Hercules and Theseus.—But with all her changes, moral or political, in a long cycle of years, Naples is still the abode of that ease and indolence, that sacred *far niente*, so dear to the Italians of the south. In this *otiosa Parthenope* all the busy occupations of mankind seem to have stopped, as if the pulse of social and active life had ceased to beat. But poverty, the predestined curse of all who do not work, is scarcely a calamity in this genial region. Here nature spreads a rich banquet, to which she bids alike the high and the low. The eye is feasted with pleasures, and the mere function of breathing in so delicious a clime is in itself a sensual enjoyment.

It would be still greater presumption to attempt a sketch of the Neapolitan character—a race forming an exception to every other people in Europe. We shall endeavour to catch, however, one or two of its more striking lineaments.

Like the ancients, the Neapolitans pass the greater part of the day in the open air; not indeed like them, to discuss the affairs of the forum, or the debates of the senate (of these they take no note), but from the mere want of emotion, from an intolerance of ennui, or to satisfy a vague and gaping curiosity. In the open air, they drink, they eat; and if they work at all, it is in the open air. For this reason it is, that the city has always the aspect of being over peopled. The principal street (Toledo) has the appearance, especially towards the close of the day, of a popular rising. It would seem as if a Massaniello had convened his mob of noisy and factious citizens to overturn the state.

In feature, in taste, in manner, the Neapolitans have obviously an affinity with oriental nations. But there are other characteristics, which are exclusively their own. Mean and proud; superstitious and irreligious; indolent and avaricious; phleg-

matic and irritable; the slaves of habit, but goaded with a feverish restlessness for any thing that is new; eager for change, but made for obedience; affecting independence, and yet idolaters and flatterers of wealth or greatness. At Naples (and only at Naples) is it customary to touch the garment of a grandee with veneration, and then to kiss the hand that has been honoured with the contact. They are nationally proud; not like other nations, of their historical fame or actual greatness, but of the beauty of their climate, the fertility of their soil, the splendour of their capital. As to their government, they hardly understand the word. They seem never to have asked, whether it is monarchical or republican. Such however are the unceasing contrasts of their character, that with an utter insensibility on political subjects, their ears tingle at the word "liberty;" for in their vocabulary, liberty means the right of doing as they please, and of giving unrestrained vent to their appetites. They are, therefore, always ready to join the first demagogue who cries out "liberty." But the political idol of one day will be meanly abandoned on the next. They foam and effervesce, and then lie down with their accustomed apathy, and forget all that has passed. To-day they may be incited to massacre their fellow citizens; to-morrow the blood-fever will subside, and they will be as calm and indolent as before. Without this key to the Neapolitan character, the short-lived revolutions so frequent in their history would be a perplexing problem.

In no country are the three classes into which every people is divisible more strongly marked. Perhaps sufficient justice has never been rendered to the lowest. Their vices lying on the surface, we are too apt to overlook their good qualities. Not that they are a moral race of men: they scarcely know what is meant by morals. But they have a wild and untutored sense of right. They are by no means seriously quarrelsome, their disputes evaporating in noise and clamour. In an instant, they change from intense anger to the calmest indifference. Whoever throws a superficial glance on the character of this people, would suppose them liable to every excess of popular delirium. But the Neapolitan, the slave of every changing sensation, is perpetually varying from himself. Like his own Vesuvius, he seems to menace death and destruction. In an instant he is placid and serene, passing from hatred to love as rapidly, and almost as unconsciously, as the infant passes from tears to gladness. Hence it is that faction has ever found temporary aliment amongst this eccentric people, though the projects conceived in the moments of heat and phrenzy are abandoned with an in-  
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stancy far surpassing all that has ever been said or thought of the proverbial levity of the multitude.

The middling classes are upon the whole the most respectable. The *paliotti*, one of the most thriving professions at Naples, the professors at the university, the merchants, and some portion, we wish we could say the larger portion, of the ecclesiastics, belong to this respectable division.\*

Of the highest class, the manners are variously shaded. As if to show how extremes meet in national character, many of the nobility resemble in their moral features the despised race of the Lazaroni. In truth, they are equally indolent and superstitious, and in many respects equally ignorant. Educated for the most part in the cloister, or by incompetent preceptors, who hold in the family an inferior rank, and actually receive a less salary than the principal domestics, the Neapolitan noble arrives at mature years wholly unripe in understanding or judgment. Incompetent to the administration of his own affairs, and entirely absorbed in *fêtes* and spectacles, he falls into the hands of some needy lawyer, who fattens at his expense, or surrenders himself to some insinuating abbé, who has stolen into his confidence. His noble *sposa*, transferred from the gloom of a convent to the glitter of public life, without education or accomplishments, is driven to intrigue, as a mere refuge from vacuity. Happily there are exceptions to this remark; but all estimates of popular character must be formed chiefly of its more marked and prominent features.

Upon the whole, indolence is the master vice of Naples. But the Neapolitans have in general much penetration; a lively and fertile fancy; a discourse sparkling with images. They catch almost instinctively the peculiarities and humours of others. Irony is their prevailing figure of speech. The extravagant and hyperbolical flattery which they address to those with whom they converse is frequently so much dissembled satire and latent epigram.

Such are the people who, in different periods of their history, have been seized with periodical fits of revolution. Such are the people whom the French revolutionized in 1799; and who attempted, in 1820, to revolutionize themselves. A compendious

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\* La conduite du bas clergé à Naples est souvent scandaleuse. C'est la misère, qui fait descendre ces hommes à un tel état de dégradation. Le métier de prêtre ne procure pas de quoi vivre à quiconque n'a pas des archevêchés ou évêchés, ou de gros bénéfices. Aussi voit-on dans les rues de Naples, mais sur tout dans les cafés, des prêtres en habits sales et déchirés, s'approcher des étrangers, et ôtant d'une main leur calotte, demander de l'autre l'aumône. Quelquefois c'est pis encore: ils proposent aux nouveaux débarqués de les conduire dans des maisons de plaisir. — *Tableaux de Naples par Duval.*

and rapid allusion to the principal facts of this last ephemeral revolution may not be uninteresting to our readers. It is a living commentary on the character of which we have attempted a summary sketch—the sudden fury with which it burst into combustion, the instantaneous rapidity with which that fury was extinguished.

It was in the month of July that this revolt, headed by General Pepe, broke out amongst the troops. The cry was for a constitution; and many of them happening to recollect that Murat had promised them a constitution just before his departure, Murat's promised constitution was immediately proclaimed. Unfortunately this constitution was not to be found in any desk, or hole, or corner. In this exigency, another cry was set up for another constitution. To appease these tumultuary demands for constitutions, the king promised another in eight days; not a very unreasonable delay for so momentous a measure, but much too long for Neapolitan impatience. In the mean while some persons seem suddenly to have recollected that the Spaniards had given themselves a constitution, and a cry was immediately raised "for the constitution of the Cortes." Of this constitution there was not, it seems, a copy in Naples. Nobody knew exactly what it was. Yet to this they conceived so miraculous an attachment that during the sitting of their parliament, which was expressly summoned to modify and correct it, a large majority of members were so indisposed to allow any alteration of it, that they came to a decision that no amendment should be adopted but by a majority of two thirds. No amendment of a constitution not distinctly known, not half completed, imagined for another people, in another part of Europe, and under circumstances wholly different!

About this time was exhibited in Sicily an episode to the Neapolitan revolution. On the 15th of July, and the two following days, Palermo was the theatre of a violent and sanguinary insurrection. No sooner had the Palermitans heard what had been transacted at Naples, and that a parliament had been convoked there, than they determined to have a parliament and constitution of their own. Of their taste for liberty, as well as of their fitness for it, they gave an immediate specimen, by letting loose from prison nearly a thousand atrocious malefactors. They assailed the houses of the Neapolitan officers, and threw the Neapolitan soldiers into dungeons. It was necessary, therefore, to send a large force from Naples to put down the rebellion; but when that force approached Palermo, a scene of slaughter and cruelty ensued in that unhappy city, which cannot be adequately described. A militia, chiefly composed of criminals liberated from gaol, were not to be expected to be very moderate

in shedding blood, or plundering property. All who refused to join them were shamefully murdered, then cut into pieces, and their quivering limbs exposed on pikes and bayonets. In the mean while, those who led the Neapolitan troops permitted Palermo to surrender on terms of capitulation.

While these things were going on in Sicily, at Naples they continued to amuse themselves with constitutions. They changed the nomenclature of the provinces, and, after the manner of the French school, adopted the names and divisions of antiquity. The Terra di Lavoro was named Campania; the three Abruzzi changed into Pletutaria, Marsia, and Erentania; the island and province of Tremiti into Daunia; Otranto into Salentum; Calabria into Lucania, &c. &c. They adopted also the trial by jury. Of this institution far be it from us to deem irreverently; but are wise institutions capable of being transplanted at will? and will every civil blessing flourish in every soil? Is it not a part of the moral order, against which it is vain to resist, that a people must be antecedently trained to those institutions, and gradually nurtured to those blessings? The almost entire inaptitude of the trial by jury to any other community than that in which it is indigenous, may be a discouraging, but it is an undeniable truth, of which theoretic statesmen are ignorant; and how costly and calamitous, for the most part, is that ignorance!

In the mean time, the allied powers took into their deliberation (we shall presently say a few words concerning their competence to entertain the question) the changes which popular force had thus worked in the political system of the country; and the King of the Two Sicilies was, as is well known, invited to their congress. The residue of the revolutionary story is soon told. The Austrians crossed the Po on the 28th of January, and marched to Naples. The principal opposition to this march seems to have consisted in an empty vote of the representatives, never to make peace with an enemy whilst he occupied their territory. On the 28th, Rieti was in the possession of the Austrians, and the Neapolitan army fell back upon Aquila. The Austrians appeared in sight; General Pepe was almost instantly deserted by his troops, and obliged to escape as well as he could. This dispersion was followed by that of the troops at Mignano, who fired on their officers, and then disbanded. The Austrians entered Naples on the morning of the 29th; and thus ended the revolution of Naples.

Different minds will arrive at different conclusions concerning the competency, we mean the moral competency, of Austria, to interfere with a revolution in the South of the Peninsula; and many may probably doubt the right of foreign powers to inter-

ferre at all in similar cases. Our remarks upon this much agitated question shall be short. Perhaps the soundest reasoning is that which keeps at an equal distance from the extreme proposition on either side, neither denying altogether the right of interference in any instance of popular revolution, nor maintaining the right of interfering in all. In political cases, there is an endless gradation of shades and colours. In that before us, it is a question of fact. If, as the Emperor of Austria asserted in his manifesto, the Neapolitan revolution was brought about by obscure fanatics and rebel soldiers, and unnaturally forced upon the people, instead of being the object of their legitimate choice; and if, as it further asserts, that revolution threatened by its contact the peace and independence of neighbouring states; then the law of vicinage was in full vigour, and it became not only an undeniable right, but a sacred duty, to take measures for repressing the mischief. As an Italian prince by birth, as well as by inheritance, whose dominions had been nearly dismembered by similar commotions acting in the north of Italy in avowed sympathy with that of Naples, and generated by the sect of Carbonari, the prolific parent of modern revolutions,—the Emperor of Austria could not have hesitated as to the course which prudence, and policy, and justice, alike suggested.

As to the Carbonari, of whom so much is said, and so little known, it would be visionary perhaps to magnify their projects into that grand simultaneous insurrection, of which their appearance in the south of Italy was to be the signal; though this has been maintained by many sagacious and well-informed writers. We ourselves are of opinion, that these apprehensions were not wholly destitute of foundation; and we are not sufficiently sceptical of the size and extent of the mischief, to consider them merely as

“Fears of the brave, and follies of the wise.”

M. de Beauchamp,\* author of a History of the Revolution in Piedmont, considers the Carbonari as a branch of a “gigantic anti-social conspiracy, of which Paris was the centre—the dregs and scæces of the French revolution still lurking, both in France and Italy.” He arraigns, we think unanswerably, the policy of the French government immediately after the restoration, which nursed, as it were, the dying embers of revolution, by heaping favours and condescensions on the remnant of the revolutionary faction. Thus cherished and protected, he adds, the grand democratic or Bonapartist sect extended their ramifications, under different names, to the Alps, the Pyrenees, and

\* *Histoire de la Revolution du Piémont*, par M. Alph. de Beauchamp. Paris, 1821.



the Rhine, where the people, averse from a foreign yoke, and nurturing a secret but undefined hope of independence, lent a too willing ear to their delusions. Nor is there an absolute absence of evidence to show that the elements of this great combustion had been actually prepared at Paris, long before it burst forth with so feeble a flame in the southern extremities of Europe.

But though there may not be testimony sufficiently decisive to silence all doubt concerning the alleged extent of the conspiracy; it is certain that through the Neapolitan provinces at the period of the late revolution, the Carbonari, a sect framed in imitation of the free-masons, and avowedly pursuing some plan of political innovation, comprised a very considerable portion of the population. They do not, indeed, appear connected with the French party, of which M. de Beauchamp supposes them to have been a branch; for it is well known that they were equally hostile to the French governments of Joseph Bonaparte, and of Murat. Their existence, however, has for several years been a matter perfectly notorious; and, although they affected great secrecy, their proceedings were far from being concealed. But no sooner did the commotion of 1820 burst forth, than they threw off the mask, and, intoxicated with the success of their projects, published their transactions, and even posted up their proclamations. There is much real, and much affected, obscurity as to this sect, and their origin and purposes are in a great measure inexplicable. They who expect to acquire any information relative to them, from the book whose title is prefixed to our article, will be completely deceived; for a more confused and unintelligible farrago never disgraced the British press.

Yet it is abundantly manifest, that these societies, whose principle is change, and whose compact is secrecy, are phenomena which baffle all reasonings derived from former experience, and essentially differ from every confederation which has heretofore exercised the vigilance, or excited the alarm, of governments. If they are not positively a numerical majority of the Neapolitan nation, they include amongst them that portion of it which has the most decisive influence in political action. In the two extremes of society, the higher nobility, and the lowest of the populace, there are no Carbonari. It is in the middling classes that their strength resides. Amongst these, are the *possidenti* or small landed proprietors; who, in an agricultural country like Naples, must have considerable weight in all projects to which they contribute their influence. But, in addition to these, the rapid changes of property, and transitions of government, during the last twenty-five years, had created a comparatively new class; "the middle men," as they are designated in Ire-

land,—men who, having been agents of the great landed estates, have, by their own industry, and knowledge of rural economy, so profited by the vicissitudes of the times, or the improvidence of their employers, as to have seated themselves in the actual possession of the domains which they once superintended. They bear the general designation of *galantuomini*, or gentlemen. It is from this class that official situations in the provinces are generally supplied; and these persons, almost to a man, were enlisted amongst the Carbonari. What efficient precaution, then, could the Neapolitan government have taken against a sect which contained a large portion of public functionaries? whole districts and provinces being, in fact, completely in the hands of persons, discharging indeed their duties with exactness, but carrying on, at the same time, their occult and mysterious projects. A majority of Carbonari in the *Decurionato*, or public assembly of the village, would ensure the election of Syndics, of the Gabielleri, or excise men, and a variety of subordinate officers.

Amongst the Carbonari, proselytism, it seems, is incredibly rapid. The recommendation of a member already initiated is a sufficient passport to every candidate, unless there are clear and unequivocal objections against him. At the same time, every member is unwearied in his canvass for new members. Nor is an admission into this association without its private advantages. They extend to each other every office of friendship and benevolence. They supply the labourer with tools and implements; in many cases, with money. Every *cousin* is sure of sympathy in sickness, and consolation in death. The rapid diffusion, therefore, of such a sect, is no subject of wonder.

But in no class of the community had its principles taken deeper root than amongst the numerous bodies of provincial militia who are called legionari, civici, and militi: a class of men who had by no means an inconsiderable share in producing the revolution. As every individual of these troops must be assessed at least ten ducats to the land-tax, it is plain, that, exclusively of the power of armed men, they must have great influence as proprietors of the soil. In Capitanata, one of the most extensive and populous of the Neapolitan provinces, 40,000 of these persons, each with forty cartridges in his pouch, and four ducats in his pocket, were for several months in complete readiness for action. It cannot, therefore, excite much surprise that the late revolution broke out. How its duration should have been so short, and that a more heroic and persevering resistance should not have been made to the Austrians, it is somewhat more difficult to explain.

What has been already said concerning the character of this

versatile people, is the best solution of the problem. Their zeal had begun to cool, and they had already regarded its objects as scarcely of sufficient value to call for protracted efforts to defend them. It is evident, however, that the existence of a political society, which has sufficient influence to stir up a nation to rebel, though not, it should seem, to induce them to fight, must be a continual source of apprehension to the government of Naples. It is a perplexing question how to deal with it. What is ordinarily called persecution would, by a principle inherent in human nature, inflame their zeal, and augment their numbers. Rome could, indeed, in one day, and by a single vote of her senate, put down the pestilent sect of Bacchanalians; which, according to Livy, threatened so much mischief to the state. But the full-grown adult mischiefs of a confederacy containing in its bosom the majority of a nation, will not admit of remedies purely coercive.

There are, however, in the Carbonari of Naples, peculiarities which favourably distinguish them from the societies of the same name in other parts of Italy. That, for instance, which was detected at Macerata in the papal dominions in 1817, seemed to have contained the concentrated essence of French democracy,\* and to have pursued the most sanguinary and vindictive projects. They were arrested by the police on the eve of a plot which was to have been executed in a few hours, and which would have deluged the streets with blood, and put public and private property at the mercy of a gang of ruffians and assassins. But the Neapolitan Carbonari are chiefly terrific from their numbers; the very circumstance which, if history and experience are to be relied on, diminishes the danger, and assuages the mischief of conspiracy. There is, no doubt, much evil in all secret associations. But an association of a million of men, though united by conventional signs, cannot be secret. In such a multitude, the spirit of the institution will soon be lost; and the control of the leaders, supposing them willing to give an undue direction to that multitude, every day less felt, and less obeyed. There is every reason to suppose, also, that the solemn puerilities and farcical absurdities of their ceremonies are sufficient to absorb the attention, and exercise the faculties, of the greater part. True, they have produced a revolution; but, having fretted its hour upon the stage, it is heard no more. "It vanished at the crowing of the cock;" nor is it likely, after so inauspicious an expe-

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\* Upon the trial of these wretches at Rome, the following triplet was deposited to, as having been read in a barracca at Ascoli:

Figli di Bruto, il brando omai scuotete,  
Poiche spunta nel ciel, di sangue tinta,  
Stella, che batte il rio Tiranno il Prete.

iment, to be soon repeated. Surely, if an illustration of the comparative inefficacy of such institutions were wanted, it would be furnished by that revolution. A few lean and sallow Cassiuses are a more portentous evil in any country, than a million of Neapolitan Carbonari.

Let those then who sympathize with the supposed wrongs of Naples, and who deduce, from the numbers and extension of the Carbonari, a conclusion that the revolution thus suppressed by Austria was the native offspring of the public mind of the country, guided and enlightened by these societies—be at their ease. They furnish no inference whatever of an improved state of national intellect. It is not by the mummeries and mysticism of secret clubs, that the mind of a country is to be strengthened and developed: an accelerated and stimulated growth ends in premature decay; the fruit becomes rotten before it is ripe. The health of moral vegetation requires that it should pass through the gradations of progressive increase. The aim of the Carbonari seems to have been that of obtaining an imposing appearance by mere numbers. Is this a fair criterion of the mental advancement of a people?

We have dwelt the longer upon these particulars, because the Carbonari have of late engrossed some space in political speculation; and because the facts we have stated are an ample commentary on the habits and feelings of a people who scarcely assimilate in one point with any other European nation; and of whom, perhaps, what was applied by Tacitus to the ancient Germans, "*sincera gens, et sui tantum similis*," is the truest description. We shall now proceed to offer a few remarks on the literary history of this nation, as far as it is capable of being considered apart from the history of the literature of Italy in general.

Count Orloff's book is divided into three parts; the first being historical only; the second confined to policy and legislation; and the third, to literature. Of such a plan, at least as far as regards the first two divisions, the inconveniences are numerous. As a portion of general history, it fritters and disperses the reader's attention, instead of leading it on by a continuous chain of facts; it rises no higher than to the level of a meagre chronicle, and is without that which is appropriate to a chronicle—order and arrangement. It is an unskilful severance of subjects not susceptible of division. The political condition of nations must be surveyed in parallel lines, as it were, with their historic incidents; because those incidents, whether of revolution, of invasion, of conquest, of migrations, of admixtures of the population, or of change of dynasties, are the causes that influence and indicate that condition. The separation of topics so closely

allied breaks up the connexion of cause and effect, which it is the peculiar province of history to exhibit. Of this disjointed scheme, Dr. Henry's work, though left by its ingenious author in an unfinished state, had proceeded far enough to show the disadvantage.

Distinct dissertations, indeed, on literary history, are not liable to similar objections. Literature, rarely mixing itself with the public transactions of mankind, holds a more secret affinity with national character, and great historical vicissitudes. It is the current which flows in stillness, and pays its tribute to the ocean, without noise or tumult. We are sorry we cannot compliment our author upon the successful execution of this part of his task. His catalogue of literary names and literary works is sufficiently copious; but do these compose the whole of literary history? Much, probably, of our discontent arises from unreasonable expectation: having framed an estimate of those qualities of mind and learning which are requisite for a complete historical disquisition, we are, perhaps, unjustly dissatisfied with performances that fall short of our standard. To be always looking for the rare faculty of intuitively comprehending the leading principles of human action, of embodying and concentrating the diffused spirit of ages into pregnant aphorisms and great practical verities; of making history, in short, what it has in its perfection been said to be, "philosophy teaching by examples," might be too exacting; yet we must be permitted to complain, that the plan adopted by Count Orloff has hurried him along too rapidly to admit of any collateral research, or incidental illustration. Neither is the diction that which the academy in its best days would have tolerated. It is only much better than that of his self-complacent annotator, M. Duval; both the text-writer and his commentator, both master and man, indulge themselves *ad nauseam* in that sentimentality which the modern school of French writers holds to be one of the essential elements of fine writing on all subjects, whether history, philosophy, or romance. Pursuing, however, the line which he has traced, but occasionally filling it with details and observations the absence of which is one of the chief defects of his book, we proceed to a slight historical analysis of the literature of that part of Italy which constitutes the modern kingdom of Naples.

Materials for this purpose are abundant; for the south of Italy is rich in historical learning. Its archives have, indeed, suffered considerably from invasions, and particularly from those of the Vandals; but the greater portion, by a rare felicity, has escaped the ravages of time and barbarism. The monasteries of La Trinità della Cava and Monte Cassino contain inestimable treasures of original documents pertaining to the history of the kingdom.

Foreigners, and more particularly the inhabitants of northern Italy, are apt to smile with incredulity when they are told of the number of Neapolitan historians. Giannone's name is well known; but the sources from which he derived his materials are little known out of the kingdom. The names of Summonte, Costanzo, Pontano, Collenuccio, Carracioli, and Capecelatro, are only a few of them. Besides these, various writers have compiled chronicles, from the provincial archives, which would form a rich collection, independently of the MS. registers of private families. The *Libro del Duca di Montelone* is of the highest authority. It is a series of historical facts, from the time of Joan II., and exhibits most curious pictures of the manners and transactions of the two following reigns. Moreover, every province, and even the smallest provincial town, boasts of its history.

Of the remote antiquity of this country, there are, of course, but scanty documents. The authors who flourished before the schools of Magna Græcia, and who could alone have guided us through the labyrinth, have not left so much as a name behind them. The Greek historians are too intent upon magnifying the importance of their own country, to deserve implicit faith when they treat of the people who were colonized and civilized by Greece. The loss of the early Roman historians is irreparable. Cato the censor\* had devoted one entire book of history to inquiries concerning the origin and peopling of the old towns of Italy. Diodorus the Sicilian, Dionysius, and Dio, who explored all the antiquities of Italy, have come down to us in a state deplorably imperfect; and neither Plutarch, Sallust, nor Livy, has supplied the loss. But it is certain that the Greek republics of Italy rose rapidly to prosperity and power. The Brutians, in the fifth century of Rome, made the Greeks tremble for their own safety. Luxury and corruption, however, kept an equal pace with their prosperity. Cuma, Crotona, Tarentum, Rhegium, fell quickly under the Roman domination. In the time of Polybius, the very name of Magna Græcia was disused.

Great names adorned those republics. Zaleucus (whose existence is questioned by Bentley), and Charondas, were the legislators of Locris and of Thurium; but the name of Pythagoras is still greater: he was born at Samos; and having accidentally heard the philosopher Pherecydes discourse upon the immortality of the soul, he abjured the low occupation to which he had been educated, and became himself a philosopher. Having enlarged his mind by travel, and enriched it with all the learning

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\* Corn. Nep. in vit. M. P. Cato.

of his time, he settled at Crotona, and established his celebrated sect, which he governed by a peculiar code of ethics. Exemplary abstemiousness, scrupulous ablutions, and daily exercise, were among its primary duties. At the close of every day, each disciple instituted a rigorous self-examination into the mode in which he had employed it. The silence enjoined this little community was probably an imitation of the reserve and mystery in which the priests of Egypt, in whose doctrines Pythagoras is supposed to have been initiated, locked up their knowledge. Whether the metempsychosis of this philosopher was borrowed from India, or was symbolical merely of the changes and reproductions which prevail through animal and vegetable life; whether it was a part of his religion to worship fire, as the purest emanation from the Supreme Being; or this also was a mere external symbol of some occult doctrine; are matters which must still remain in darkness. But the philosophy of Pythagoras was an era in the civilization of man. The school which survived him continued the parent and nurse of that long succession of philosophers who flourished in the south of Italy during the two following ages.

The Eleatic sect arose soon after in this part of Italy. From this school emanated that false logic which, under the name of dialectics, confounded right and wrong,—the weapon which was afterwards so dexterously wielded by the sophists who overran Athens and the other cities of Greece. From a passage in one of the epistles of Seneca, it should seem that Zeno, who was the leader of this sect, had adopted the hypothesis respecting the non-existence of matter which is so fully developed by Berkeley. Zeno died the death of a patriot; having made an ineffectual effort to recover the liberties of the little republic (Elia or Velia), which was destroyed by the tyrant Nearchus: Leucippus was the successor of Zeno. He invented the celebrated system of atoms, which Democritus and Epicurus adopted after him. Is it not to this philosopher also, that Descartes is indebted for his *vortices*, and the great mechanical axiom of the centrifugal qualities of rotatory bodies?

Of this period, the poetry has perished; but the ancient historians have preserved a few fragments of it. Plato cites some of the verses of Parmenides; and Athenæus has preserved an entire poem (the Meleager) of Cleomenes of Rhegium. Tarentum produced three poets—Apollodorus, Leonidas, and Alexis, of whom Brunck, in his *Analecta*, has inserted some interesting remains. Alexis of Thurium was a celebrated writer of what is called the middle comedy. According to Suidas, he was the uncle of Menander, and wrote upwards of two hundred

dramas. Athenæus, Julius Pollux, and Aulus Gellius, have cited them occasionally; and several detached sentences of them are to be found in the valuable collection of Grotius.\*

In short, the south of Italy, in this remote period, might boast of a constellation of genius in philosophy and poetry. The cities of Magna Græcia had, for the most part, adopted a species of government which, though aristocratic, preserved enough of the popular form to nurture and encourage the competition of talent. But the glory of these little communities was destined to be extinguished in the overwhelming domination of Rome. They lost indeed their liberties; but the Romans preserved to them their municipal forms and native institutions. The twelve divisions into which Italy was distributed by Augustus, were afterwards changed by Adrian, by whom the whole peninsula was again partitioned into seventeen provinces. Of these, Campania, Samnium, Apulia, and Lucania, comprised the territory which now constitutes the Neapolitan kingdom; an arrangement fatal to the privileges of the free cities. Campania was governed by consuls, Apulia and Lucania by censors, and Samnium by prefects.

These provinces gave birth to Livius Andronicus, Pacuvius, Nævius, Ennius, and Lucilius; but Rome was the theatre of their fame. The former of these may be considered the founder of the Roman stage. He supplanted the barbarous satires which were called Atellan, or Oscan, by something that approached the regular drama. Nævius, a native of Campania, seems to have advanced the dramatic art still further. Cicero speaks in commendation of the purity of his style, and Virgil honoured him by borrowing more than one of his verses. Macrobius† points at the beautiful passage in the first book of the *Æneid*, where Venus complains to Jupiter of the storm that dispersed her beloved Trojans, as entirely taken from Nævius:

——— O qui res hominumque deûmque  
Æternis regis imperiis, et fulmine terras,  
Quid meus *Æneas*, &c.

If, indeed, Virgil borrowed this noble passage from Nævius, and made use also of entire lines from Ennius, as is also asserted by Macrobius, it is to be lamented that the verses, which that exquisite poet thus polished into brightness, are lost to us. We can discern neither the value of the obligation, nor the amount of the usury with which it was repaid. We have unfortunately too little of Ennius. But what remains of the *Amphora* makes us sigh, with the old woman in Phædrus, for what it once con-

\* See also Henry Stephen's *Comicorum Sententiæ*. Ed. Paris, 1586

† *Saturnal.* lib. 6.



tained. It is worthy of remark, however, that the old bard has left us his own portrait, drawn by his own hand, in a fragment preserved by Aulus Gellius.\* If poets can praise themselves honestly, the passage evinces a rough undissembling spirit, congenial to that antique freedom of manners, which permitted men to speak of themselves, as of others, without restraint :

Ingenio quoi nolla malum sententia suadet,  
 Ut faceret facinus, levis haud malus, doctus, fidelis  
 Suavis homo, facundus, suo contentus, beatus,  
 Sceitum, secunda loquens in tempore, commodum, verbum  
 Paucum, multa tenens antiqua, sepulta, vetusta, &c.

And here it ought to be remarked that, in the time of Ennius, the Latin language was less rude and unpolished than the specimens remaining of that author appear to indicate. It should seem that he affected, like our own Spenser, an antiquated diction to improve the interest of his composition, by removing it farther from ordinary life.

Arpinum, at present part of the province of Terra di Lavoro, produced the greatest orator and philosopher of the ancient world; and Count Orloff has mingled some just and pleasing reflections with a rapid enumeration of the writings of Cicero. We cannot but speak in terms of commendation, also, of his sketch of Sallust the historian, which, though slight, is by no means devoid of that sound critical discernment which shows him competent to appreciate the great masters of antiquity.

“ Le royaume de Naples a eu encore la gloire de donner a la littérature latine *Salluste*, talent du premier ordre. Ce célèbre historien, mort quatre ans avant la guerre d’Actium, trente-un ans avant J. C. naquit a Amiternum, dans le pays des Sabins. Salluste fut élevé a Rome, ou il obtint la charge de questeur, et ensuite celle de tribun du peuple. Ses moeurs etaient tellement depravées, qu’il fut marqué d’infamie et dégradé du rang de sénateur. Etant une fois surpris en adultère par *Milon*, il reçut une correction corporelle et fut condamné a une amende. Il perdit toute sa fortune par ses débauches et des vices honteux. Jules-César, dont il avoit embrassé le parti, le fit rentrer dans l’ordre des sénateurs, et l’emmena avec lui en Afrique, ou il alloit combattre le beau-pere de Pompée. Quand la guerre fut terminée, il fut envoyé au gouvernement de la Numidie ou il amassa des richesses immenses a force d’injustices et de vexations. Il fit construire a Rome, du fruit de ses depredations, un palais magnifique, et des jardins dont l’emplacement porte aujourd’hui le nom de jardins de Salluste.

“ Salluste a donné une Histoire Romaine dont il ne reste que quelques fragments; un ouvrage sur la conjuration de Catilina, et ~~un~~ autre sur la guerre de Jugurtha. Le style de cet his-

\* Noct. Attic. l. 12, c. 4, Edit. Vari, 1675.

torien est remarquable par la précision et l'énergie. Tout ce qu'écrivait ce grand maître ne pouvait être dit ni plus laconiquement ni avec plus de force. On ne sait ce qu'on doit admirer le plus en Saluste, de ses descriptions, de ses portraits, ou de ses harangues; car il réussit également dans toutes ces parties. Son laconisme l'a rendu quelquefois obscur, et ses digressions lui font par-fois aussi perdre de vue l'objet principal de son récit; mais malgré ces défauts, il est à juste titre réputé comme un des meilleurs historiens de toute l'antiquité." (Tom. iv. p. 50, 51.)

Velleius Paterculus, and Vitruvius, are names which dignify southern Italy. The last was born at Formiæ.\* So carefully was he educated, and so diligently did he study, that he was considered as an epitome of all human learning. Julius Cæsar knew and loved him. He was munificently patronized by Augustus. His treatise on architecture is the only book upon that subject that has descended to us. It is obviously written with great inequality. The didactic parts of it are totally destitute of elegance or polish; but to each book there is a preface, written in a style of purity and elevation worthy of the Augustan age. Horace, notwithstanding his own doubts as to the precise spot of his nativity, belongs also to these provinces: and the unhappy Ovid was born in the Peligni, now the Abruzzo; the Italian translation of whose *Metamorphoses*, by Anguillari, is perhaps the finest version of ancient poetry to be found in any language.

From the time of Ovid, the reign of good taste and simplicity was no more. Words harmoniously balanced, antithesis, point, and an unsound floridness of diction, took their place. Statius was born at Naples, under Domitian, whom he flattered by the dedication of his two heroic poems. Count Orloff has dismissed this poet with a frigid mention: but Statius has been so long the agreeable companion of our lighter hours; and so little justice has, in our opinion, been rendered him by critics and scholars, that we cannot forbear claiming for him a distinguished place amongst the writers of antiquity. Ambition was the sin by which he fell: as he could not reach the *Æneid*, it would have been happy for him if he had not attempted it. Yet the faults of the *Thebaid* are more than redeemed by the exquisite poetry of the *Silvæ*. Every piece of that miscellaneous collection attests the purity of his taste, and the gentleness of his character. He was alike skilled in the graces of the *Epithalamium*,—the tenderness of the *Elegy*,—the dignity, if not the fervour and impetuosity, of the *Ode*. If, however, *fervet immensusque ruit* cannot be said of Statius, his poetry is a playful and sparkling stream, that makes sweet music as it glides. Gray was a great admirer of Statius. It is not generally known, that a passage in the

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\* Maffei claims him for Verona. Veron. Illustrat.

Genethliacon Lucani of this poet supplied him with the image, in his Progress of Poesy, of Nature unveiling her awful face to the infant Shakspeare. But Statius was emphatically the poet of Naples. Its clime, its atmosphere, its shores, were the chief sources of his inspiration. He was yet young, when the eruption of Vesuvius swallowed up Herculaneum and Pompeii. This memorable calamity sunk deep into his mind; and his descriptions of Naples are deeply shaded with the remembrance:

Hæc ego Chalcidicis ad te, Marcelle, sonabam  
Littoribus, fractas ubi Vesbius egerit iras,  
Æmula Trinacriis volvens incendia flammis.  
Mira fides! credetne virum ventura propago,  
Cum segetes iterum, cum jam hæc deserta virebunt,  
Infra urbes, populosque premi, proavitaque toto  
Rura abiisse mari? Necdum letale minari  
Cessat apex.—

But the subjoined lines addressed to his wife, inviting her to meet him at Naples, present so lovely a portraiture of that city, that we must be permitted to copy them. We wish that modern Naples corresponded to it alike in every feature.

Hic auspice condita Phœbo  
Tecta, Dicharchei portus, et littora mundo  
Hospita; et hic magnæ tractus imitantia Romæ,  
Quæ Capys adiectis implevit mœnia Teucris.  
Nostra quoque et propriis tenuis, nec rara colonis  
Parthenope; cui mite solum trans æquora vectæ  
Ipse Dionæâ monstravit Apollo columbâ.  
Has ego te sedes (nam nec mihi barbara Thrace,  
Nec Libye natale solum) transferre laboro:  
Quas et mollis hyems, et frigida temperat æstas:  
Quas imbelle fretum, torpentibus alluit undis.  
Pax secunda locis, et desidis otia vitæ,  
• Et nunquam turbata quies, somnique peracti.  
Nulla ~~fo~~ rabies, aut strictæ jurgia legis:  
Mores juræ viris: solum, et sine fascibus, æquum.

The night which so long overshadowed the human mind was now come: yet, in the deepest gloom of the middle ages, some faint glimmerings are to be perceived. The reign of Theodoric is rendered memorable by Boethius and Cassiodorus, who inspired their ferocious master, not indeed with a taste for letters, but with a disposition to protect them. Cassiodorus found a refuge from the distractions and violences of the times in a monastery, which he himself founded in his native province of Calabria. There he dedicated the residue of a blameless life to the instruction of his fraternity, in sacred and profane learning. While he taught them to feel the beauties of the ancient writers, he employed them also in transcribing their works; a pious labour

to which we are indebted for many precious remains, that would otherwise have perished in the general wreck of knowledge.

The stern domination of the Lombards, which commenced at the close of the sixth, and continued to the middle of the eighth century, was in truth the era of the extinction of learning in Italy: for even so late as the fourth century the pure writers of antiquity were admired and copied. Many of the great lights of the Christian church, particularly Lactantius and Chrysostom, enriched their apologies, and embellished their controversies, with illustrations from the poets, the satirists, and orators, of a better age. Nor was the lyre of the ancient muses, though struck by feebler hands, as yet unstrung. Rutilius, Claudian, Ausonius, Sidonius Apollinaris, Prudentius, constitute a school of poetry in which the genius of antiquity still breathed. Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and Ammianus Marcellinus, also, are by no means despicable as historians; and the Gothic dynasty could boast of Cassiodorus, Boethius, Ennodius, and other gifted individuals, who kept the embers of polite knowledge still alive. The iron sway of the Lombards was death to the whole mind of Italy. Yet, in these days of rapine and ignorance, the religious houses were uniformly hospitable to genius and letters. The Benedictines continued mindful of the precepts, and emulous of the example, of Cassiodorus; although their monastery at Monte Cassino had been wholly destroyed by the Lombards. Charlemagne availed himself of the zeal and talents of the learned churchmen of his age, when he restored the empire of the West; and the eighth century boasts of writers who would not have disgraced the second. Muratori\* has collected some valuable historical monuments produced by the learned and industrious monks of Monte Cassino.

The duchy of Benevento, whose territory in the middle ages comprehended the greater part of the Neapolitan provinces, had still preserved its independence; and the princes who governed them were great protectors of learning. This tranquillity, however, was soon to have an end; and after the dismemberment of Benevento, a period of tumultuous anarchy succeeded, which drew down upon that devoted country the Saracens of Sicily, and the arms both of the eastern and western empires. A handful of Norman adventurers took advantage of the feebleness and confusion incident to such a state of things, and laid the first foundations of a monarchy, which in later times powerfully influenced the destinies of Italy.

At Salerno, where Robert Guiscard had established his court,

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\* *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, vol. i, li

a celebrated school of medicine had already been instituted. In the eleventh century it arose to the summit of its reputation; and the Leonine verses, which registered the lucubrations of that period in the art of medicine, contain aphorisms which retain their authority in the present advanced state of the science. It has been strangely supposed that this work was dedicated to Charlemagne; but that prince had been dead nearly three hundred years, when this compilation first made its appearance. In fact, it was dedicated to a king of England, as it should seem from the first line of the poem. Tiraboschi supposes it to have been Robert, Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, who had been entertained at Salerno, on his return from the first crusade, by Roger then Duke of Sicily.

If the medical school of Salerno distinguished the eleventh century, the succeeding age was still more illustrated by the study and advancement of jurisprudence. We cannot enter into the much agitated question of the discovery of the Pandects at Amalfi. From this accident, however, may be dated the most beneficial revolution in the science of law. The schools of Milan, Bologna, Padua, and Naples, produced, in rapid succession, the great jurists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Count Orloff has given an exact chronological nomenclature of the various historians who flourished at this period in the provinces of Naples. Monte Cassino had the honour of producing the greatest amongst them. In these learned retreats also flourished, not only the celebrated Albericus, the great theologian, who so ably defended his dogmas before two several councils to which he was cited by Gregory VII.; but another ecclesiastic of the same name, one of whose *visions*, lately discovered amongst the archives of that monastery, is supposed, on very weak grounds, to have been the exemplar from which Dante borrowed the idea of his *Divina Comedia*.

But the south of Italy passed under the mild rule of the Suabian princes, and the land of literature began to teem with a new produce. Frederic II. laid the foundations of an university at Naples, revived the medical school of Salerno, and himself cultivated the learning which he protected. His court was frequented by men of talent. It was under his patronage that the harp of Italy preluded its first sounds, and the Sicilian Muses contested the laurel with the Troubadours of Provence. Of the merits and misfortunes of the celebrated minister of that prince, Peter de Vineis, we quote Count Orloff's summary in his own words:

“Un prince tel que Frédéric devait naturellement donner une puissante impulsion au génie des Italiens. Il fut assisté par Pierre Desvignes, homme d'un vaste savoir, profond dans les affaires, philosophe,

jurisconsulte, orateur, et poète. Né a Capone dans un état obscur, malgré la médiocrité de sa fortune, il se rendit a Bologne pour y cultiver les sciences. Sa fortune et le hasard l'y firent rencontrer par Frédéric, qui lui accorda son estime et son amitié. Chaque jour il se rendait plus digne des faveurs dont il joussait. Mais, enfin, la fortune se lassa de répandre sur lui ses bienfaits. Envoyé au concile de Lyon, il ne réussit point à arrêter les foudres que Innocent IV. lança contre Frédéric et son trône. Dès ce moment tout changea pour Pierre, la haine et l'envie des courtisans se manifestèrent sans retenue; profitant de l'insuccès de la négociation, ils le perdirent dans l'esprit du prince par des fausses délations et des suggestions perfides. Tout-à-coup, le chancelier se vit dépourvu de ses dignités, et pour comble d'infortune, privé de la lumière par les mains des bourreaux. Jetté dans un cachot, il attenta lui-même, a ses jours pour mettre un terme à ses souffrances; et mourut sans accuser de cruauté ni d'ingratitude son souverain. Les lettres qu'il écrivit, sont des monumens du xiii. siècle aussi précieux qu'interessants. On y trouve plutôt les récits des événemens de la vie de ce prince, que l'élégance du style et la pureté de la langue.

"Quelques auteurs lui ont attribué un livre sur la puissance impériale, et un autre, *De Consolatione* à l'imitation de Boece, avec lequel la vie du chancelier Neapolitain avait eu d'autres rapports. Il s'occupa aussi de poésie. Allacci et Crescimbeni ont conservé quelques-unes de ses productions en ce genre. Elles prouvent du moins la flexibilité de son génie, et sont monumens des premières tentatives de l'Italie dans l'art poétique. Une de ses compositions mérite par sa forme ou texture quelque attention. On y trouve le mécanisme du sonnet dont elle a pu être le type, mécanisme encore ignoré dans ce temps, des poètes provençaux. M. Ginguené n'a pu se dispenser de faire cette observation, malgré le zèle et l'admiration, qu'il a toujours témoignés pour la gloire des Troubadours." (Vol. iv. p. 116.)

A much greater name arose shortly after him. Thomas Aquinas was educated at Naples. The writings of this theologian, which are still extant, if what no one reads can be said to be extant, fill eighteen large folio volumes; and the ordinary duration of man's life could hardly suffice for the study of them. Fashions pass away, and the study of the angelic doctor has ceased to be the business of the schools, or the occupation of the closet. Yet he was held in high reverence by the sect who adhered to the scholastic philosophy, and who were long known by the name of Thomists. Nor was this estimation unmerited; his great *Abridgment of Theology* bespeaks a gigantic genius. To estimate such a writer, indeed, without reference to the time at which he lived, would be gross injustice; but it is a vulgar error to suppose that he was the blind and servile adherent of Aristotle. In some respects he was his antagonist; for he attached himself to the Alexandrian school, and adopted the tenets of St. Augustin, Proclus, and the Arabian peripateticians.

That he entangled himself in the formularies of the Stagyrice, or at least in those which the schools attributed to that philosopher, and that he should have occasionally lost himself in the obscure labyrinths of scholastic distinctions, was the fault, not of Aquinas, but of the age. Even now the sway of Aristotle in the schools is not wholly extinct. Let not Thomas Aquinas be contemned for submitting in the thirteenth century to a yoke from which the nineteenth does not seek to be absolutely free.

The obscure question of the origin and formation of the Italian language, Count Orloff has passed by. We must be allowed to touch, however, upon a subject which belongs to the period at which we have arrived, and is closely connected with the rise and progress of Italian literature in general.

The use of a vulgar dialect, contradistinguished from the Latin, commenced sooner in France than in Italy, where the Latin not only continued to be the language of law and polity, but that of wit and gaiety. The Troubadours had, even as early as the twelfth century, amused, with their romances and *fabliaux*, princes at their courts, noblemen in their castles, and warriors on their crusades: but it was in the next age that the Italian idiom acquired shape and consistence. It leaped as it were full grown from its birth, and outstripping the tardy developments of time, attained, in the hands of Dante, to that copiousness and harmony which successive centuries have rather impaired than improved. Ginguené\* attributes, we think erroneously, this rapid perfection to the Provençaux; and derivatively through them to the more distant sources of Arabian literature. But what similitudes of thought, or analogies of diction, can be traced between the grave and austere style of Dante, and the playful and often unmeaning levities of those amorous minstrels, Bernard de Ventadours, Peyrol, Peter Vidal, and the other professors of the *science gaie*? In fact, the gay and brilliant court of Provence expired in the beginning of the thirteenth century, to the latter part of which Dante belongs. The obscure sonneteers and *canzonieri*, who preceded the Father of Tuscan song in point of time, might have been tinged with their style and manner; nor can it be denied that the songs of Provence, vapid as they may seem to our refined apprehensions, were the source whence the poetry of Europe, and particularly that of Spain, derived its habitual language. Dante, however, is of another order. To the speech, which he reared to sudden perfection, not an approach was made before his time.

We repose upon Muratori's hypothesis. The Italian language was neither borrowed from the Provençaux, nor was it coeval

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\* Histoire Littéraire de l'Italie, tom. i. p. 78.

as a *lingua volgare* with the ancient Roman, that strange paradox of Leonard Aretin, which was afterwards adopted by Bembo. It is, in short, the Latin, staggering under the blows given it by successive invasions of barbarous conquerors, but never supplanted by their idioms, receiving from time to time their inflexions and terminations, and gradually declining into a jargon assuming the form of a distinct language. Such was the state in which it waited only for a creative genius, like that of Homer, to impart to it the beautiful and harmonious symmetries which it has since retained; and in this state Dante found and completed it. It is observable that each of these dialects, as it approaches the line of separation, partakes of the characteristics of the other, the Latin being full of Italian expressions, and the Italian abounding in Latinisms, which gradually wear away as we descend to Petrarch and Boccaccio. In truth, all the Italian dialects, as well as those of France and Spain, conspire to refute the common opinion respecting the influence of the Northern invasions upon the language of those countries by inoculating it with barbarous idioms.

Robert of Anjou was the friend and patron of learning in the fourteenth century. During his reign, poetry and the study of Greek were prevailing occupations at Naples. Barlaam, under whose tuition Petrarch made his slender proficiency in that language, was a native of Calabria. Leontius Pilatus also was his pupil. This eminent individual was invited by Boccaccio to Florence; and it was his example and his labours that made the cultivation of ancient letters general through Europe. Historical science indeed appears to have advanced but little at this period in the South of Italy; though Gravina's chronicle, which is inserted in Muratori's collection, is an exception. But in the succeeding century, Italy had wholly shaken off the slumber into which, with the other nations of the West, she had so long sunk; and, under the house of Arragon, Naples became the seat of taste and literature. Antony Boccadilli, surnamed from the place of his birth Panormita, aided by Jovianus Pontanus, founded an academy in that city, which enrolled in its numbers the most accomplished scholars of the age.

Amongst these was Sannazarius, no ignoble name in poesy and polite learning. We extract Count Orloff's remarks upon this celebrated man.

“ Il passa son enfance, occupé d'études agréables, et il fit le plus grand progrès. Ses premiers essais poétiques obtinrent l'admiration de Pontanus, qui lui accorda son estime et son amitié. Cette liaison lui ouvrit un accès facile à la cour; il y fut bien accueilli par le roi Ferdinand I<sup>er</sup>. Sannazar s'attacha à Frédéric le cadet avec lequel il fit la guerre en Toscane, et qu'il suivit ensuite en France lorsqu'il fut



dépouillé de ses états. Associé à son bonheur lorsque la fortune lui souriait, il voulut partager ses disgrâces, et vendit son héritage pour le secourir. Après avoir recueilli le dernier soupir d'un malheureux monarque, il revint de son exil volontaire, et ne cessa de manifester sa haine envers ses nouveaux maîtres, auteurs de la ruine des Arragonais.

"Sannazar cultiva à-la-fois la poésie latine et italienne, et brilla également dans l'une et l'autre, par la beauté des images, et la pureté du style. Son *Arcadie* est un modèle de ce gout dont Virgile seul avait hérité des Grecs, et que malheureusement il n'avait point jusqu' alors transmis à d'autres. Sannazar ne fut pas le premier qui mêla dans ses écrits des vers et de la prose, et qui employa les vers que les Italiens appellent *sdrucchioli* : ce genre était connu avant lui ; mais nul auteur de son temps n'a mis plus de sentiments et d'images dans ses poésies. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que son *Arcadie* se soit reproduite dès sa première apparition dans plus de soixante éditions, et qu'elle ait été imitée par le célèbre Garcilasso de la Vega, le plus brillant poète de la langue Castillane.

"Sannazar chanta les Mystères de l'Incarnation avec autant de pompe que Virgil en mit à peindre l'origine de Rome. Le poème de *Partu Virginis* est réputé l'ouvrage le plus beau d'un siècle, qui cependant fut embelli par plus d'un trophée littéraire, et vit briller sur tout d'un nouvel éclat les muses latines. Il est vrai que les rêves du paganisme s'y trouvent associés aux mystères de la religion chrétienne ; mais dans ce temps, on ne se doutait pas que l'on pût composer un poème sans l'aide de la mythologie, dont les prestiges semblaient devoir relever la simplicité des sujets. Si dans ce poème, Sannazar s'est quelquefois approché des beautés épiques de Virgile ; si dans son *Arcadie*, il avait aussi quelquefois rappelé les admirables bucoliques du poète latin dans ses *Eclogæ Piscatoriæ*, il montra un génie aussi fécond qu'original, et ouvrit une carrière inconnue aux Latins et aux Grecs." (Tom. iv. p. 153—155.)

To this notice we shall subjoin a few remarks. Sannazarius arrived at high excellence both in Latin and Italian poetry. A sort of conflict was at this time going on between those languages. That of Italy was by no means in general use among the learned ; and Cardinal Bembo attempted, even at a later period, to dissuade Ariosto from adopting it. But Sannazarius wrote with equal grace and facility in either. If his poem "de Partu Virginis" earned him the approbation of the Pope, and the distinction of being called the "Christian Virgil," his "*Arcadia*" shows to great advantage the elegance, and softness, and melody, of the Italian diction.

Sannazarius, as well as Statius, is the poet of Naples. He dwells with delight on its smiling landscapes and majestic scenery ; and his religious poem closes with an exquisite painting of the spot to which his fancy clings with affection and rapture.

“ Hactenus, ô Superi, partus tentasse verendos  
 Sit satis : optatam poscit me dulcis ad umbram  
 Pausilypus, poscunt Neptunia litora et udi  
 Tritones, Nereusque senex, Panopenque Ephyranque,  
 Et Melite ; quæque in primis grata ministrat  
 Otia, Musarumque cavas per saxa latebras,  
 Mergellina ; novos fundunt ubi citria flores,  
 Citria Medorum sacros referentia lucos :  
 Et mihi non solitâ nectit de fronde coronam.”

In his eclogues and elegies also, Pausilypus, the adjacent islands of Nicida, Procida, and Ischia, are scenes in which he delights to revel. This enthusiasm is strictly Neapolitan. Every inhabitant of that favoured region is an idolater of the local beauties of his country. His patriotism belongs more to what he sees than what he feels. It is more physical than moral.

In Italian, the *chef d'œuvre* of Sannazarius is indisputably his *Arcadia*. It is a series of eclogues in verse, and the scene is laid in *Arcadia*. Each of them is prefaced by an exordium, in prose ; an alternation which, being of regular recurrence, is too apt to fatigue. But if the merit of human productions is measured by duration of esteem, the *Arcadia* stands high, for it has been a favourite with the Italians for more than 300 years.

We pass by many other cultivators of poetry and letters in this celebrated academy. Nor were poetry and polite literature its only subjects of glory. Galateo (Antony of Ferrara) was the friend of Pontanus and Sannazarius, and he excelled equally in natural philosophy, medicine, geography, and elegant letters. Jerome Tagliava, a Calabrian, disputed with Copernicus the discovery of the earth's revolution round the sun. The science of history began also to make considerable advances under the Arragon princes. Laurentius Valla was munificently patronized at the court of Alphonso. Campano, Carracioli, Albino, Pomponius Lætus, adorned the academy towards the close of the 15th century. At this time archæology was the universal passion ; and to such an excess was it carried, that every thing modern was in low esteem. Literary men even quarrelled with their own names, of modern, and therefore of barbarous sound, and assumed the classic and sonorous appellations of ancient history—such as Julius Pontanus, Callimachus Experiens, Pomponius Lætus, &c.

The national literature suffered from this enthusiasm ; and the Italian poetry and eloquence fell rapidly from the height to which Dante, and Petrarcha, and Boccacio, had carried them. The poetry of Nottarno, and the homilies of Carracioli, are proofs of the declension of taste and simplicity.

A brighter and more ethereal day now dawned upon Italy; and literature, as if impatient of its protracted infancy, advanced in the sixteenth century to sudden maturity and vigour. It seemed to have sunk into repose, exhausted by its efforts at the period of Dante and his contemporaries. It was, however, a renovating interval. The mind of man was undergoing a revolution the most interesting which history records;—a mighty change, which vibrated through Europe. Various causes contributed to it. The exhumation of the great models of antiquity from the sepulchre of ages was not the least. They furnished new standards of ideal beauty in the arts, which at once exercised emulation and awakened genius. The age of Leo brought back that of Augustus, and Rome was once more the centre from which taste and learning radiated through the world. Talent of every kind was encouraged by that liberal pontiff. The Medicis at Florence, and the princes of the house D'Este at Ferrara were also patrons of literature. But Naples lingered in this march of intellect. Her Spanish viceroys persecuted merit with as much zeal as the Suabian, Anjou, and Arragonese princes had cherished and protected it. They endeavoured, ineffectually indeed, to plant the inquisition in the Neapolitan provinces, and shed the purest and best blood upon the scaffolds. The universities were deserted, and liberal and ingenious writers were punished by torture and exile.

When the tide of human knowledge has begun to flow it is not easily checked. Private munificence supplied the place of public patronage. The Marquis de Pescara, the Marquis del Vasto, and the illustrious Colonna, were the Mæcenases of the age. It was a private individual, Ferranta, Duke of Salerno, who protected the father of the celebrated Tasso. This ornament of the sixteenth century, to whom Italian poesy owes its last polish and highest refinement, was born at Sorrento. He is too well known to require a more specific notice; and even if our space permitted us to enter into details concerning the great author of *Jerusalem Delivered*, the able summary and elegant criticism of Ginguené would render it superfluous. It may not be known, however, to all our readers, that Tasso was not only a poet, but a metaphysician and philosopher, and the author of several treatises, written with great precision, on morality and ethics. Nor is the full extent of his poetical labours familiar to all. His sonnets, of which there are an incredible number, have met with the same fate as those of Shakspeare. Like Shakspeare's, also, they are interesting portraits of the vicissitudes of his life. We present one of them, which is about to lose much of its elegance and vigour in our translation.

FIDELITY.

“ There is a virtue, which to Fortune’s height  
Follows us not ;—but in the vale below,  
Where dwell the ills of life, disease and woe,  
Holds on its gentle course, serenely bright.  
So some lone star, whose softly-beaming light  
We mark not in the blaze of solar day,  
Comes forth with pure and ever constant ray,  
Cheerful and beauteous in the gloom of night.  
Thou art that star ! so beauteous and so lone,  
That virtue of distress, Fidelity !  
And thou, when every joy and hope are flown,  
Clingst to the relics of humanity,  
Making my sad and sorrowing life still dear,  
And death, with all its horrors, void of fear.”

Tansillo, a contemporary poet, exhibits neither the taste nor dignity of Tasso. His poems abound with the *concelli* and antithesis too frequent in the Neapolitan school. But the poem called the Nurse, which has been translated by Mr. Roscoe, a tender exhortation to mothers upon the nurture of their children, is exempt from these vices. The obscene poem called *Il Vendemiatore*, was expiated, before his death, by the Tears of St. Peter, a religious piece, which the French poet Malherbe plagiarized and deformed. For a catalogue of the jurists and philosophers of the south of Italy, in the sixteenth century, we must refer our readers to the work of Count Orloff.

The state of its literature, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was by no means auspicious. The Neapolitan kingdom was scourged at once by tyranny and famine. The ministers of Philip III. and Charles II. who governed it as viceroys, were intent only upon squeezing from that impoverished kingdom new supplies for their rapacious and needy masters. Commerce was fettered by exactions, industry disheartened, the arts and sciences discouraged. Rebellions were the natural fruit of this crooked policy. Thomas Campanella headed an insurrection in Calabria; and the famous Masaniello was, for some time, master of the kingdom. But the zeal of private individuals, animated by the example of their predecessors in the preceding century, effected much during these iron times. Manso, the friend of Milton, Tasso, and Marini, established a literary society, called the *Otiosi*. Other societies were framed, and learning was preserved from extinction. The Neapolitan jurists of this period are mentioned with respect, in the excellent work of Francesco d’Andrea, *Ragionamento a suoi Nepoti*, himself the ornament of the bar, and called the Cicero of Naples. Uninfected with the false taste, and superior to the chicane, of the Neapolitan pleaders, he was equally distinguished by his talents and integrity.

P. Mabillon, who heard him, says, that he spoke *magno cym eloquentiæ flumine et fulmine*. Andrea died in 1698. Gravina, another eminent lawyer, was a native of Cosenza, in Calabria. He was versed in the ancient languages, and addicted himself to the philosophy of Descartes. Having fixed his residence at Rome, he was one of the founders of the academy in that metropolis. For this academy, he composed a series of laws, in imitation of the twelve tables; but ambition and discord soon found their way into it; and Crescimbeni, by an unworthy intrigue, obtained a vote of expulsion against Gravina and his party. The first scholars of the age were his pupils, and amongst these Peter Metastasio.

The fame of this jurist rests chiefly upon his work *De Originibus*. He was the first lawyer who called down philosophy to the aid of jurisprudence. His interpretations of the Roman code, and of the fragments of the twelve tables, breathe a liberal and enlightened spirit; and his masterly and comprehensive mind brings together the whole history of human legislation, the progressive growth of natural and positive laws, and all the analogies and discordancies in the codes of nations. It is remarkable that two writers, diametrically opposite in genius and character, have been much indebted to Gravina. The world probably owes the great work of Montesquieu to his writings, and Rousseau borrowed from them his theory of the Social Contract. Himself a poet, he fostered and protected the expanding powers of Metastasio, left him an ample inheritance, and expired in his arms.

Julius Cæsar Vanini was equally celebrated for his talents and misfortunes. He was born at Otranto, and studied at Naples. He travelled over Europe, and gave offence in every country which he visited, by the boldness of his opinions, and the freedom of his discourse. Constant to no theory, at one time a fervent Catholic, at another a licentious Latitudinarian, his life was passed in a storm of disputation. The doctors of the Sorbonne burned his work *De Admirandis Naturæ Reginæ*. At Thoulouse, he was accused of atheism; and condemned, by the same parliament which afterwards passed sentence upon the unhappy Calas, to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned alive. This infamous judgment was executed on the 19th of February, 1619, and in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

But in no country has archæology been carried to a greater extent than in Naples. And what country, in spite of barbarous invasions, and the dreadful visitations of earthquakes and volcanos, presents a wider field for antiquarian research, or abounds more in those interesting remains which connect the ancient with the modern world? So prevalent was this science, that there

is scarcely a province, a town, a church, or a monastery, which has not had its antiquary and its historian. Of these authors, the number is too considerable for distinct specification. Amongst the writers of general history we have already mentioned Summonte. It is, however, in literary history, that Naples abounds even to affluence. Manso bequeathed to posterity the Life of Tasso, whom he had befriended and consoled in the last years of his existence: Francesco Andrea compiled the biographies of the celebrated lawyers of his day: Chioccarelli, those of Neapolitan authors, from the earliest times to 1646: Toppi, Nicodemi, and many others, illustrated the same department.

Poetry, however, and the sister art of rhetoric, degenerated into fustian and conceit. Simplicity of thought and expression was supplanted by metaphysical subtlety; and an unnatural elevation of style but ill concealed the laborious indigence of the writer. The austere and terrible graces of Dante; the harmonious, but vigorous versification of Petrarca, were succeeded by florid exaggeration, by tumid and gaudy imagery. Naples led the way in this departure from truth and nature. Tansillo, and even Tasso himself, not unfrequently committed these offences against taste; and their example, imitable only in its vices, engendered a tribe of poetasters, the founders of a new school, the school of Marini. But although Marini had the ambiguous honour of giving name to the sect, his genius was of a higher order. He was born at Naples, and nature had gifted him with an ardent imagination, perpetually excited, as he grew up, by the glories of a cloudless heaven, the varied beauties of the scenery, the rich magnificence of earth and ocean, with which he was surrounded. His first poetical attempts were remarkable for the brilliancy of their colouring. They were applauded, but in contradiction to the established decrees of good sense and correct taste. Simplicity and nature had already been exiled from poesy. A genius like that of Marini was alone sufficient to confirm the false direction which had been given it, and to sanction its vices. Literary honours were heaped upon him, and he was highly distinguished by the patronage of the great, both in Italy and France.

His *Slaughter of the Innocents*, a poem, is the most finished of his numerous pieces. It was translated by Crashaw, and Pope has not disdained to borrow several passages from the translation. The Adonis is replete with every variety of descriptive beauty: but it sparkles with the false glitter of the style which was then prevalent. It rose, however, into rapid popularity. Though put into the Index Expurgatorius of the Vatican, its admirers and its readers were multiplied by the inhibition. A countless tribe of imitators arose. It is the in-

felicity of imitation to catch only the faults of its original. They did not inherit a remnant of Marini's genius.

It is, perhaps, in the infancy of man's intellect, that the poetical faculty is most vigorous. Invention then ranges with a more unfettered pace. Homer's was the vernal season of poesy. Philosophy, by bringing every thing to the test of reason, dissipates its creations. Our own metaphysical poets, Donne, Cowley, Crashaw, and Denham, displayed less what they felt than what they knew. Perhaps the revolution of taste in Italy was not precisely of the same kind; it arose out of the exaggeration of beauty into deformity; from that luxuriance of flowers, and profusion of colours, which, in their excess, torture rather than delight the senses. To this fault, which is chiefly the abuse of something intrinsically excellent, the Italian writers seem to have had at all times an innate tendency. Erasmus ridicules the Ciceronians of his day—a sect of rhetoricians who imitated to a vicious excess the style of Cicero; and Italy, at the revival of letters, abounded with Ciceronians. The Petrarchists, as they were called, acquired the appellation from exalting into hyperbole and conceit the purity and tenderness of Petrarca. But Guarini first, and after him Marini, seemed determined to show how far poetic affectation could be carried. They halted, however, on the confines of absurdity, leaving to their disciples at Naples, Stigliani, Bruno, and others, the disgrace of breaking all reserve, and rioting in absolute nonsense.

Occasionally, indeed, Marini reminds us of the conceits of Cowley; but the resemblance is rare. One instance of such a resemblance is in our recollection, and we are tempted to quote it. In the *Testamento d'Amore*, a lover receives from his mistress a letter written with her blood. This circumstance gives birth to endless conceits and extravagancies. He wishes to be converted into ashes, that, by being pulverized, he might dry up the lines traced by her hand—

“ *Così pur potess' io  
Tra le mie flamme incenerire ardendo,  
Indi il cinere mio  
Sparger, di polve in vece,  
Sù le tue belle, e sanguinose righe!  
Che non si può con altra ricompensa  
Pagar dono di sangue  
Che con cambio di morte;*

and concludes by calling her a pelican of love, who tears out her heart to administer life to others—

“ *Pelicano d'amore  
Che per dar vita altrui ti squarci il core.*”

There were few satirical poets in Italy during the seventeenth

century. Salvator Rosa, the painter, was the most distinguished amongst them; he was a native of Naples; his satires have the bitterness and sternness of Juvenal. He writes also with the flowing eloquence of that poet; but he abuses his own fertility, and knows not how to stop. His great fault is saying too much.

In the drama, Porta arrived at great excellence; his genius was indeed universal. His tragedies of *Il Georgio*, and *l'Ulisse*, still maintain their reputation. But in the pastoral drama, a Neapolitan barber, Gian Battista Dreggazano, shone nearly without a rival. The comedies of Porta also were deservedly admired in his day. Count Orloff observes of this extraordinary being,

“ C'est vraiment une chose très remarquable, qu'au milieu d'études sérieuses, et de travaux d'un genre si différent, Porta ait pu composer un si grand nombre de pièces dramatiques. Dans ses comédies on trouve le sel de Plaute, et tout l'art de l'Arioste. Et peut-être se montre-t-il supérieur à l'un comme à l'autre, dans le choix de ses sujets, dans l'emploi des incidents, dont il se sert pour renouer et soutenir l'action.”—(Tom. iv. p. 381.)

In a language so easily wedded to music, the opera is almost of indigenous growth; and in the age on which we have been occupied, it rose to great perfection. Antonio Basso, Sorrentino, the author of *Ciro*, and others, whose names alone would extend our article to an unreasonable length, prepared the way for Zeno and Metastasio, from whose hands the Italian opera received its last touches.

The eighteenth century was the age of the severe sciences, rather than of poetry. Count Orloff has only strung together a barren nomenclature of the Neapolitan poets of this period; names too obscure for commemoration, and scarcely heard of beyond the limits of their own country. Nor is this silence a matter of condolence; the times are gone when cities were built by the sound of a lyre, or armies inflamed by the strains of a Tyrtæus. The spirit of imitation has so long subsisted in Italy, that we may reasonably despair of seeing again the sublimity of Dante, the pencillings of Tasso, the opulence of Ariosto. On the other hand, sonnets, madrigals, elegies, *canzoni*, were every day starting into sickly existence, and then disappearing for ever.

“ Versus inopes rerum, nugæque canoræ.”

It is in this age, nevertheless, that we contemplate the human faculties in their grander movements. A sounder logic, and more rational philosophy, were cultivated in Europe. The kingdom of Naples had been transferred to Austria, but the policy of the Spanish administration was still continued. Financial disorders, vexatious imposts, harassed and afflicted this



devoted country. But in spite of her arbitrary and oppressive governments, Naples could boast of many establishments friendly to science and letters.

In Giannone, jurisprudence found one of its greatest ornaments, who was born in the province of Capitanata, and studied at Naples. He began his celebrated *Civil History of Naples* at an early period of his life. He was a zealous, not to say virulent, opponent of the usurpations of Rome; a circumstance to which he owes much of his reputation, and almost all his misfortunes. His work, on which he had bestowed twenty years of unremitted labour, appeared in 1723. But the liberality of its tenets soon earned it the honour of a place in the Index expurgatorius of Rome. He was, moreover, excommunicated by the archiepiscopal court of Naples, and exiled from his country. The principal events of his life are compendiously stated by Count Orloff.

“Il alla chercher un asyle et la paix a Vienne, ou il trouva un appui dans le prince Eugene, qui savoit allier la philosophie à la plus grande gloire militaire. Ce prince et quelques savants qui le protégèrent, parvinrent a lui faire obtenir une pension de l'empereur Charles VI. Ce fut alors que Giannone se crut assez puissant pour se venger de l'injustice dont il était victime. Il fit circuler, pour sa defense, quelques ~~manuscrits~~ <sup>petits</sup> manuscrits, dans lesquels il ne put contenir son humeur satirique. Le même sentiment lui dicta l'ouvrage très curieux qui avait pour titre : ‘Triregno, ossia del regno del Cielo, della Terra et del Papa.’ La cour de Rome s'empressa d'en faire acheter toutes les copies manuscrites qui circulaient, afin d'en empêcher la publicité; elle parvint a les faire entièrement disparaître.

“Lorsque Charles VI. perdit le royaume de Naples, Giannone perdit aussi sa pension. Dans cette circonstance, il fut assez imprudent pour retourner en Italie. Accueilli d'abord a Venise, il en fut peu après chassé, traversa l'Italie, déguisé, et se refugia à Genève. Là, cédant aux instances perfides d'un officier Piedmontais, il se laissa entraîner hors du territoire de cette petite république. Son lâche guide le fit arrêter par des sbires, et conduire dans la forteresse de Miolens; on le sépara de son fils unique, le compagnon de ses malheurs et de ses voyages. Après quelque temps, il fut transféré à la citadelle de Turin. Dans sa triste prison, le malheureux Giannone chercha consolation dans les lettres, commenta des auteurs classiques, écrivit des mémoires, traduisit des livres; il en fit même un pour soutenir les droits du roi de Sardaigne qui pour récompense l'oublia dans sa prison. Accablé de misère et de chagrins, il se résigna, enfin, à abjurer, à réfuter lui-même les maximes qu'il avait avancées dans sa belle et savante histoire. Après douze années d'emprisonnement, il mourut âgé de 72 ans, en 1748.”—(Tom. iv. p. 393, 394.)

John Baptista Vico was a man of universal talent. Philosophy, politics, poetry, the belles lettres in general, he cultivated with equal diligence. Left in a destitute condition, his genius

was nursed in solitude, and quickened by misfortune. All his writings breathe an air of originality: his imagination was ardent and active, and derived its aliment from vast and profound reading. Plato and Bacon were a species of household divinities to this indefatigable student. The celebrated work of the *Scienza Nuova* dintorno Alla Commune Natura delle Nazioni, is a lasting monument of philosophical powers of generalization which have been rarely equalled. Its obscurity is apparent, rather than real. It requires, indeed, to be read diligently, and even laboriously; and the author himself deprecates the judgment of those who may presume to criticise it on a slight and careless perusal.

The reign of Charles III. was the proudest political era that Naples had yet witnessed. The judicious measures of Tannuci, his minister, and the actual presence of the monarch himself, inspired life and activity into the state, and the Neapolitan people might for the first time be called a nation. The discipline of the university was restored; the magnificent building which it now occupies appropriated for its reception, and the Farnese library consecrated to its use. To this auspicious period belongs Antonio Genovesi, a proselyte from scholastic theology, the study to which he was originally destined, to the pursuits of a liberal and enlightened philosophy. We contemplate in him, perhaps, the most extraordinary man that ever arose in Italy. He was a disciple of Vico, whose doctrines he elucidated, by a commentary which completely cleared them of the perplexities in which his master had intentionally enveloped them. What Bacon was to Europe in general, Genovesi was to Italy. The spirit of philosophy, almost at his bidding, pervaded every science, and the principles of right reasoning diffused a steady light over the labours of succeeding students, for whom he had first opened a way disentangled from mysticism and error. He was in truth the founder of a school in philosophy, which had all that was great or eminent in Italy among its students. He combined the theories of Locke and Leibnitz, extracting from each that which was most consonant to the interests of man, and the improvement of his mind. If he wandered occasionally into the wilds of a boundless speculation, he was led astray by his unlimited confidence in the perfectibility of the human mind; an error that bespeaks generous and enlarged, though not accurate habits of thinking.

Genovesi filled the moral chair at the university. His talents attracted a numerous class; and truths to which they had been heretofore indifferent or inattentive, came mended from his tongue. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the theological professorship; but a munificent individual, Bartolomeo Intieri,

having founded a lectureship on political economy, upon the express condition that Genovesi should be the Professor, it was in his lectures upon that branch of philosophy that he employed the vast resources of his genius, and displayed the great depth of his acquirements. But his greatest work is his *Treatise upon Metaphysics*: nor is it the least of its merits, that it is divested of the learned nomenclature generally used in metaphysical dissertations, and completely adapted, by its elementary form, to popular use. Exhausted by his labours, this eminent man died in 1769, at the early age of 55.

Emulous of his example, and disciplined by his precepts, several accomplished scholars followed in the same department. But our limits admonish us that inasmuch as our mention of them would necessarily be confined to the barren enumeration of their names, it would be better to pass them by, and content ourselves with the selection only of the most prominent and conspicuous merit that belongs to the period under our examination. We conclude, therefore, our slight view of Neapolitan literature during the reign of Charles III. by remarking, that with the exception of poetry and eloquence, every branch of human knowledge made rapid advances.

The long and eventful reign of his son, Ferdinand IV. brings us to our own times, and involves the actual state of knowledge and letters, in this part of Italy, which partook, in due proportion, of the general amelioration of Europe. In Naples, however, Genovesi left no equal. His plan of instruction was followed, his maxims paraphrased; but his disciples fell far short, in knowledge and genius, of their illustrious master. Naples, a city of lawyers, remained stationary in jurisprudence. The gothic and feudal edifice, with all its anomalies and errors, was still unshaken. Disorder, despotism, and anarchy, prevailed through that shapeless chaos, to which every dynasty and successive monarch had added something to augment its disproportions and multiply its deformities. But, among the theoretic writers who laboured to reform the civil and criminal codes, Francisco Mario Pagano holds a conspicuous place. The bar was then the great theatre of talent. Pagano, a disciple of Genovesi, soon left, however, that stormy occupation for the peaceful retirements of philosophy and study. In 1783, he published his *Saggi Politici*, a treatise which ranks him with the first writers upon public law; and in his smaller work, entitled *Considerazioni sul Processo Criminale*, he unfolded the true principles of penal jurisprudence, and urged those mitigations and amendments of retributive law, which had indeed been already recommended by Beccaria in a style more diffuse, but less forcible and impressive. Pagano, having accepted an office from

the French usurpation of 1799, was sacrificed; on the restoration of Ferdinand, to the vindictive policy of the times, and publicly executed, with numerous other victims of that calamitous period.

Filangieri may be styled the Montesquieu of Naples. From his early youth, he addicted himself to the diligent study of the mathematics, philosophy, the ancient languages, and the principles of morality and policy. His book upon the Science of Legislation appeared in 1780, when he was scarcely twenty-eight years of age. In glancing at this elaborate work, we are led to ask by what miracle a young man, of high birth and splendid connexions, and of whose life no inconsiderable portion must have been passed in the pleasures of youth and the frivolous pursuits of the Neapolitan nobility, should have amassed such a store of solid information, and acquired so severe and profound a logic? Filangieri attempted, in this work, what was never attempted before in the same department—to introduce, into moral and political, the exactness and precision of demonstrative science. His plan seems to be as unbounded as his genius. Montesquieu exhibits, as in a mirror, all that had theretofore been done by systems of law and codes of jurisprudence; but Filangieri was not content with mere historical induction. Reasoning from man's capacities and nature, he examines what still remains to be done, by civil institutions and political systems, for his moral amelioration and social happiness. Having laid down the general rules of legislative science, and unfolded the principles of law, civil, economical, and penal, he enters into clear and copious disquisitions concerning education, property, and the reciprocal rights and duties of the parental and filial relations. A mind free from the perturbations and mists of vulgar prejudice, an ardent philanthropy, a style admirably suited by its simple gravity to the subject, are the qualities displayed by this young philosopher, whose early death will be long registered in the affectionate regrets of his country.

In political economy, the Neapolitans have made considerable advances from the time of Genovesi, who first raised it from the mere skill of the merchant or tradesman, to a rank amongst the liberal sciences. Galiani, so well known at Paris, in the circles of French literati,\* for the vivacity of his wit and the smartness of his repartee, was the author of various treatises in this branch of knowledge, in which he attacked, with great success, the principles of the French economists. On his return from the Neapolitan embassy, at Paris, during his residence in which situation he had lived in familiar intercourse with the wits and belles-esprits of the court of Louis XV. and those of the first

\* See his *Correspondance avec Mad. d'Epinau*. Paris, 1821.

years of the reign of Louis XVI. he was placed in a financial office at Naples; and, amongst other projects, he had brought to maturity the restoration of the port of Baiæ; a work which was abandoned at his death.

We might enlarge our catalogue; but we have executed, imperfectly indeed, but to the utmost practicable extent allowed us, our picture of the ancient and present state of Neapolitan literature. We have followed the track, but not the footsteps, of Count Orloff; and have supplied, from other sources within our reach, the unavoidable imperfections of his plan, by selecting the most conspicuous figures, the *ductores Danaûm*, the *prima delecta virorum*; not seeking to disturb the oblivious repose of a whole host of literateurs, whose reputation is so exclusively the property of their own country, that it is by no means likely to migrate beyond its limits; the

——— *fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum*;

names praised, indeed, to the utmost height of panegyric, in their own circle, and owing no small part of their celebrity to that commerce of flattery, with which savans and academicians amuse and abuse each other.

ART. II.—*Two Sermons, occasioned by the death of the Rev. Thomas Scott, late Rector of Aston Sandford, Bucks; preached at St. John's, Bedford Row, 29th April, 1821. By Daniel Wilson, A.M. 8vo. London, 1821.*

IN an earlier period of our literature, the biography of eminent men, and especially of persons distinguished by their exalted piety, was ordinarily confined to such notices of their characters and labours as occurred in their funeral sermons; and the absence of these obituary records was often a substantial subject of regret, since, with all their imperfections, they are at least valuable as the conduits for conveying to us, in numerous instances, (as the biographical frequenters of the invaluable library of the British Museum can testify,) the only memorials of piety and talent which a less literary age was accustomed to put upon record for the benefit of a succeeding generation. If these “antidotes to oblivion” were deficient in particular details, they still seized upon the principal lineaments of the character, and presented such an outline for the imitation of those who should come after as might enable them to transfuse into their own lives, if they were so minded—those graces and virtues of the Christian character, which men of like passions with themselves

had been enabled to exhibit in their progress through the same pilgrimage; while it was not less instructive, nor less animating, to observe in how many of these instances the influence of true religion appeared throughout in the seasons of sickness and decay, and in the still more appalling hour of conflict with "the last enemy that shall be destroyed."

In the present case, as in that of Mr. Richardson, noticed in the last number, we find that not only the funeral flowers of "a sermon" are strewed over the grave, but that a regular memoir is to stand, like the stately cypress, beside the tomb of the departed.

The expectation of a "life" of the late Mr. Scott, from the pen of his son, may account for the scanty notice which is taken by the preacher of the personal history of the deceased; a single note serves to supply the following series of dates:—Mr. Scott was born near Spilsby, in 1747, and ordained deacon in 1772. He became curate of Olney in 1780; chaplain of the Locke Hospital, (of which he was the entire founder,) in 1785; and rector of the humble preferment of Aston Sandford, in Bucks, in 1801, at which place he died, April 16, 1821, in the 75th year of his age. In treating the text of 2 Tim. iv. 6—8, Mr. Wilson considers that the words with which the apostle there exhorts and animates his son Timothy to redoubled ardour in the ministerial charge, from a consideration of his own approaching departure, and of the eternal reward which awaited the faithful pastor, admit of a fair and legitimate application to the case of the individual who has been so recently discharged from his long and honourable services, and to those labourers who are yet toiling in the same vineyard, in order to their encouragement to renewed exertions in the ministerial office. The object therefore which the preacher chiefly proposes to himself is to stir up his clerical brethren, by a brief review of the living labours, and dying consolations of the deceased, to "do the work of an evangelist;" to "preach the word," and to "be instant in season, and out of season."—In reference to the nature of the reward thus proposed to all faithful stewards of the divine mysteries, we find the following judicious observations *in limine*:

"This crown 'the Lord the righteous judge' will award; for 'God is not unrighteous to forget our work and labour of love.' The reward is not indeed one of desert—our only foundation in respect of merit is the free justification which is by faith of Jesus Christ; for as sinners we are not only unprofitable servants, but deserve condemnation; but it is a gift of grace, and as believers in Christ we humbly expect, for his sake, a heavenly recompense, in proportion to our services and sufferings in his cause."

And, in proof of the harmonious consistency between the divine

mercy and the Christian reward, we find the following quotation from Calvin himself:

“ ‘The free justification which is conferred on us by faith, is not inconsistent with the reward of works. Yea, rather these two things rightly agree, that a man is justified freely by the benefit of Christ, and yet that he will receive the reward of his works before God. For as soon as God receives us into grace, he accounts our works acceptable; and thus deigns to bestow on them a reward, though an undeserved one.’ ”

As the above distinction is not always attended to, and the natural tendency of our nature, even as Protestants, is to exalt human merit at the expense of divine grace, Mr. Wilson, in proposing to our view “the recompense of the reward,” to which even Moses himself “had respect,” appears to have judged well, in thus laying his foundation, on the chief corner stone of the church in every age. Mr. Wilson first notices the well-known work of Mr. Scott, called “The Force of Truth,” of which he speaks in the following terms:

“The manner in which he was called to the spiritual combat was remarkable. His narrative of this event, we may venture to assert, will be classed in future ages with those of which the process has been recorded by the most sincere and candid avowals of the individuals themselves. ‘The Force of Truth’ cannot indeed be equalled with ‘The Confessions of St. Augustin,’ or the early life of Luther; but the main features of conversion, and the illustration of the grace of God in it, are of the same character. The church has seen few examples so minutely and satisfactorily detailed of the efficacy of the doctrine of Christ, as in the instance before us. We there behold a man of strong natural powers, intrenched in the sophistries of human pride, and a determined opponent of the chief truths of the Gospel, gradually convinced and subdued. We see him engaging in a laborious study of the Scripture, with preconceived opinions firmly fixed, and reluctant to admit a humiliating scheme of theology: yet borne on, contrary to his expectations, and wishes, and worldly interests, by the simple energy of truth. We view him arriving, to his own dismay, at one doctrine after another. We behold him making every step sure as he advances, till he at length works out, by his own diligent investigation of the sacred volume, all the parts of divine truth, which he afterwards discovered to be the common faith of the church of Christ, to be the foundation of all the reformed communities, and to be essentially connected with every part of divine Revelation. He thus learns the apostolical doctrines of the deep fall of man—his impotency to any thing spiritually good—the proper atonement and satisfaction of Christ—the trinity of persons in the godhead—the regeneration and sanctification of the Holy Spirit—justification by faith only—salvation by grace—the necessity of repentance unto life—separation from the sinful customs and spirit of the world—self-denial, and the bearing of reproach for Christ’s sake—holy love to God and

man—activity in every good word and work—dependence upon Christ for the supply of needful grace—humble trust in his promises for final victory, and an unreserved ascription of all blessings to the secret and merciful purpose and will of God. The whole narrative is so honest, and so evidently free from any suspicion of enthusiasm, as to constitute a most striking testimony of the power of divine grace.

“It was first published in 1779: at the close of twenty years he prefixed to the fifth edition a solemn declaration that every thing he had experienced, observed, heard, and read, since the first publication of it, had concurred in establishing his most assured confidence, that the doctrines recommended in it were the grand and distinguishing peculiarities of genuine Christianity. This declaration was repeated in each subsequent edition, till the time of his death.”

We may here observe that, since the publication of this Funeral Sermon, a very interesting memoir has appeared, of the latter years and death of Dr. Bateman, the physician, which contains the following remarkable testimony in favour of another work of Mr. Scott, his *Essays on the most important Subjects in Religion*:

“I read to him” (says his biographer) “the first of Scott’s *Essays*, which treats of the ‘Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures.’ He listened with intense earnestness; and, when it was concluded, exclaimed, ‘This is demonstration! complete demonstration!’”

Again:—

“He preceded his revered, though unknown instructor, Mr. Scott, only one week. He never ceased to remember, with the deepest gratitude, his obligations to that excellent man. It was only the evening before his death, that he recommended, with great earnestness, to a young friend, whose mother, under affliction, was first beginning to inquire after religious truth, to engage her to read Scott’s *Essays*; acknowledging, with fervent gratitude, the benefit he had himself received from that work, and concluding an animated eulogium, by saying, ‘How have I prayed for that man!’”

In describing the writings of Mr. Scott, consisting of six volumes quarto and nine or ten volumes octavo, Mr. Wilson says—

“He ‘kept the faith,’ not only in the main characters of his theology, but in the use which he found the sacred writers made of each doctrine; and in the order, the proportion, the manner, the occasion, the spirit, the end of stating and enforcing all they taught. In this view, the way in which he had been led to study the Scriptures for himself, and diligently to compare all the parts of them with each other, was of essential service. He was not a man to receive the impression of his age, but to give it. The humble submission to every part of divine revelation, the abstinence from metaphysical subtleties, the entire reliance on the inspired doctrine, in all its bearings and con-



sequences, the candour on points really doubtful, or of less vital importance, which are the characteristics of his writings, give them extraordinary value. Thus, together with the commanding truths above enumerated, he held as firmly the accountableness of man, the perpetual obligation of the holy law, the necessity of addressing the conscience and hearts of sinners, and of using, without reserve, the commands, cautions, and threatenings, which the inspired books employ, and employ so copiously; the importance of entering into the detail of the Christian temper, and of all relative duties; of distinguishing the plausible deceits by which a false religion is concealed, and of following out the grand branches of Scripture morals into their proper fruits in the family and the life. In a word, he entered as fully into the great system of means and duties, on the one hand, as into the commanding doctrines of divine grace, on the other. He united the Epistles of St. Paul and St. James."

Adverting to Mr. Scott's Answer to the Bishop of Lincoln's "Refutation of Calvinism," Mr. Wilson observes,—

"The prejudices inseparable from any living controversialist must, of course, be allowed to subside, before a calm judgment can be formed of his character; but, when that period shall arrive, I doubt not that his laborious productions, more especially his masterly Reply to the work entitled the "Refutation of Calvinism," will be admitted to rank amongst the soundest writings of the age."

Mr. Wilson afterwards calls this Reply "incomparable for the acute and masterly defence of truth," and further observes of it,—

"I consider this work (second edition) to be one of the first theological treatises of the day. It is pregnant with valuable matter, not merely on the direct questions discussed, but almost on every topic of doctrinal and practical divinity."

In adverting to the most celebrated of Mr. Scott's works—his Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, Mr. Wilson thus expresses himself:

"It is difficult to form a just estimate of a work which cost its author the labour of thirty-three years. Its capital excellency consists in its following more closely, than perhaps any other, the fair and adequate meaning of every part of Scripture, without regard to the niceties of human systems; it is a scriptural comment. Its originality is likewise a strong recommendation of it. Every part of it is thought out by the author for himself, not borrowed from others. It is not a compilation; it is an original work, in which you have the deliberate judgment of a masculine and independent mind, on all the parts of Holy Scripture. Every student will understand the value of such a production. Further, it is the comment of our own age; furnishing the last interpretations which history throws on prophecy, giving the substance of the remarks which sound criticism has accumulated from the different branches of sacred literature; obviating the chief objections

which modern annotators have advanced against the doctrines of the Gospel, and adapting the instructions of Scripture to the particular circumstances of the times in which we live. It is, again, the work of one who was at home in what he did. The faults of method and style, which considerably detract from some of his other writings, are less apparent here, where he had only to follow the order of thought in the sacred book itself; whilst all his powers and attainments had their full scope. It was the very undertaking which required, less than any other work, what he did not possess, and demanded more than any other, what he did—it required matured knowledge of Scripture, skill as a textuary, sterling honesty, a firm grasp of truth, unfeigned submission of mind to every part of the inspired records, unparalleled diligence and perseverance; and these were the very characteristics of the man. When to these particulars it is added that he lived to superintend four editions, each enriched with much new and important matter, and had been engaged above three years in a new one, in which, for the fifth time, he had nearly completed a most laborious revision of the whole work, we must, at least, allow its extraordinary importance. Accordingly, the success of it has been rapidly and steadily increasing from the first; not only in our own country, but wherever the English language is known. It will soon be in the hands of all careful students of the holy volume; whether, in the first instance, they agree with him in his chief sentiments or not. Nor will the time be distant, when, the passing controversies of the day having been forgotten, this prodigious work will be almost universally confessed, in the protestant churches, to be one of the most sound and instructive comments of our own or any other age. It should be part of a student's constant reading; to turn to a few controversial passages, can afford no fair criterion of its merit. I can safely say that, after regularly consulting it for above five-and-twenty years, it rises continually in my esteem."

In reference to Mr. Scott's private character, we find the following remarks on his extraordinary diligence:

"He was always at work, always busy, always redeeming time, yet never in a hurry. His heart was given up to his pursuits; he was naturally of a studious turn; and his labour was his delight. He gradually acquired the habit of abstracting his mind from sensible objects, and concentrating all his thoughts on the particular topic before him; so that he lived, in fact, twice the time that most other students do, in the same number of years. He had an iron-strength of constitution to support this. And, for five or six-and-forty years, he studied eight or ten hours a-day, and frequently twelve or fourteen, except when interrupted by sickness. His relaxations of mind were often equal to the diligence of most other persons. But it was not merely incessant labour which distinguished this remarkable man; but incessant labour directed to what was useful and important. He was always bent on his proper work. He was not merely studious, but studious of what was immediately useful. He was not a desultory reader, attracted by every novelty, and wasting his time on inferior topics, or authors of less moment: but a reader of what was solid and appropriate, and

directly subservient to the great subject in hand. He was, from an early age, almost entirely self-taught. He had little aid from masters, small means for the purchase of books, and scarcely any access to great collections. A few first-rate works formed his library, and these he thoroughly mastered. He never remitted his exertions in improving his works. After thirty-three years bestowed on his Comment, he was as assiduous in revising it, as when he first began. The marginal references cost him seven years of labour.

"In his domestic circle, his character was most exemplary. No blot ever stained his name. A disinterestedness and unbending integrity, in the midst of many difficulties, so raised him in the esteem of all who knew him, as greatly to honour and commend the Gospel he professed. He was also an excellent father of a family. What he appeared in his preaching and writings, that he was amongst his children and servants. He did not neglect his private duties on the ground of public engagements; but he carried his religion into his house, and placed before his family the doctrines he taught, embodied in his own evident uprightness of conduct. This determination and consistency in personal religion instructed his children better than a thousand set lessons. He did not inculcate certain doctrines merely, or talk against covetousness, and the love of the world, or insist on the public duties of the Sabbath, or support family prayer, whilst the bent of his conversation was worldly, his temper selfish, his own habits indulgent, and his vanity or ambition manifest under the thin guise of a religious phraseology—but he exhibited to his household a holy and amiable pattern of true piety—he was a man of God: imperfect indeed, but consistent and sincere. Accordingly, all his children became, by the Divine Mercy, his comfort and honour during life, and now remain to call him blessed, and hand down his example to another generation."

A note of Mr. Wilson's, on this part of Mr. Scott's character, evinces a just conception of the superiority of *practice* over *precept*.

"I believe," says he, "it will be commonly found that the general behaviour and conversation of parents more impress the minds of the young, than formal instructions do. When you address children directly, their minds recoil; but their own shrewd observations on what they see done, or hear said, by you to others—on the estimate you form of things—on the governing principles of your conduct—sink deep into their memories, and constitute the far most effective part of education."

"A spirit of prayer and devotion was, further, a conspicuous ornament of his character. He lived 'near to God.' Intercessory prayer was his delight. He was accustomed in his family devotions to intercede earnestly for the whole church, for the government of his country,\* for the ministers of religion, for those preparing for the

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\* Among the works of Mr. Scott which more particularly proved his affectionate attachment to the British constitution in church and state, were his "Answer to Paine;" his "Rights of God;" and his "Doctrine of civil Government."

sacred office, for schools and universities, for the different nations of Christendom, for the Heathen and Jews, and for all religious institutions; varying his supplications as circumstances seemed to dictate. On these occasions his deep humility of mind, and his zeal for the glory of his Saviour were very affecting and edifying to those who were present. He seemed like the aged saint filled with the love of God and man, and supplicating for the whole human race. More especially, he had for thirty years been constantly imploring of God that he would open some way for the conversion of the world, and the revival of genuine Christianity at home, before he saw any apparent means for the accomplishment of his desires; and when the Bible and Missionary institutions were begun, his thanksgivings abounded."

"I close," says Mr. Wilson, "this review of his character by noticing the gradual but regular advances which he made in every branch of real godliness, and especially in overcoming his constitutional failings. This is, after all, the best test of Christian sincerity. A man may profess almost any principles, or hold any kind of conduct, for a time; but to continue a holy self-denying course of consistent and growing piety, to extend this honestly to every branch of our duty, to resist and struggle against the tempers and dispositions to which we are naturally most prone—this marks a divine change of heart, and stamps the genuine believer in the Gospel of Christ. And such was the individual whom we are considering. His failings lay on the side of roughness and severity of temper, pride of intellect, and confidence in his own powers: but from the time when he first obeyed the truth of the Gospel, he set himself to struggle against these and every other evil tendency; he studied self-control; he aimed at those graces which were most difficult to nature; he employed all the motives of the Gospel to assist him in the contest; and he gradually so increased in habitual mildness, humility, and tenderness for others, as to become exemplary for these virtues, as he had long been for the opposite ones of religious courage, firmness, and determination. I can most truly say, that, during an acquaintance which afterwards ripened into a filial affection of about twenty-five years, I scarcely ever saw an instance of more evident growth in real obedience, real love to God and man, real victory over natural infirmities, in a word, real Christian holiness. In the latter years of his life he was obviously ripening for heaven. 'He had fought a good fight, he had finished his course, he had kept the faith;' and now in 'a full age,' his genuine humility before God, his joy in Christ Jesus, his holy zeal for the diffusion of the Gospel, his tender affection to his family and all around, his resignation to the will of his Heavenly Father, and his exclusive trust in the merits and grace of his Saviour, seemed to leave nothing to be done, but for the stroke of death to bring him 'to his grave, like as a shock of corn cometh in its season.'"

Mr. Wilson's second sermon relates chiefly to the closing scene of Mr. Scott's life.

"For several years preceding the event itself, his bodily infirmities

had been gradually increasing. His strength and natural spirits at times sensibly failed. He had an impression on his own mind that his departure was approaching, and he contemplated it with calmness and tranquillity. The nearer he came to his dismissal, he became the more earnest in prayer, that God would uphold him during the scenes of suffering and trial which might await him before his last hour, and expressed the deepest conviction of his own weakness and unworthiness, and his constant need of Divine mercy. He had been particularly anxious during his entire ministry to be preserved from dishonouring his holy profession; and now, as life wore away, he became more and more fervent in prayer for grace that he might not say or do any thing that should lessen the weight of what he had previously taught and written.

“His last discourse was on March 4th, from ‘He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?’ In the evening of the same day he expounded, as usual, to several of his parishioners assembled in his rectory, from the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, Luke xviii. He entered, with much animation, into both these subjects; and in the evening he applied to himself, in a very affecting manner, the words of the penitent Publican, ‘God be merciful to me a sinner.’ ‘I am a sinner,’ said the venerable man; ‘nay, more, not merely a sinner, but *the* sinner: and if God do but save me, all the glory and praise shall be his.’”

We are here naturally reminded of the wish of the great Archbishop Usher, that he might die with the prayer of the penitent Publican in his mouth, “God be merciful to me a sinner:” a desire in which he was remarkably indulged. His last breath carried the petition to Heaven.

“On the 10th March,” proceeds Mr. Wilson, “he was seized with inflammatory fever, a disease which had frequently endangered his life before, and which, now being aggravated by an internal malady, terminated his long and useful course, after an illness of five weeks. Faith and patience, however, had their perfect work, and no period of his life exhibited more striking exercises of the holy habits and gracious principles by which he had so long been governed, than these last scenes of conflict and sorrow.

“Before I proceed to give some particulars of his most instructive and affecting departure, I must observe that I lay no stress on them as to the evidence of his state before God. It is the tenour of the life, not the few morbid and suffering days which precede dissolution, that fix the character. We are not authorized by Scripture to place any weight on the last periods of sinking nature through which the Christian may be called to pass to his eternal reward. But though no importance is to be attached to these hours of fainting mortality, as to the acceptance and final triumph of the dying Christian, yet where it pleases God to afford his departing servant, as in the instance before us, such a measure of faith and self-possession as to close a holy and most consistent life with a testimony which sealed, amidst the pains of

acute disease, and in the most impressive manner, all his doctrines and instructions during forty-five preceding years, we are called on, as I think, to record, with gratitude, the divine benefit, and to use it with humility for the confirmation of our own faith and joy."

Our limits will only permit us to *refer to* the ten pages (probably the most valuable and edifying of this little volume) in which the preacher records the mingled expressions of triumphant confidence, and profound humility, with which his departed friend waited the approach of death. In the midst of much of that well-founded hope, and strong consolation, which might be expected in such a case, there is yet observable such a holy and chastened solemnity of mind, arising from a deep sense of the evil of sin, and the terrors of the Lord, as irresistibly recal to our minds that passage of Scripture, "If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?" We are no friends to the exhibition of an undue elevation of spirit, under such awful circumstances as the approach of death, though it be even the death of the believer; and feel more or less of doubt and distrust when persons, however fair or decent their previous carriage may have been, hardly evince a single fear at the contemplation of a conflict which, after all, must be terrible to flesh and sense. We remember to have heard that, when a member of a certain congregation was once boasting to his minister that he had not felt a doubt or a fear for thirty years, his pastor replied, "Then, sir, give me leave to doubt and fear for you."—We read and hear occasionally of convicts going to their execution with what we must consider the excess of effrontery, rather than the exhibition of a penitent and Christian spirit; and knowing how easy a thing it is to excite the animal affections, where the heart has never been softened, and much less changed, we cannot but recommend to those worthy persons who, from the purest motives, and with the best designs, undertake the task of attending convicted criminals, that they would teach the Gospel through the medium of the law, and seek to excite a salutary fear rather than a delirious joy; that they would foster the feelings of sorrow and self-abasement, rather than the secure expectation of mercy; and that they would humble the sinner, before they exalt the Saviour. We believe that, for want of attention to these fundamental particulars, many unhappy men have been sent out of the world with Psalms in their mouths, but without grace in their hearts. Their instructors appear to have begun at the wrong end of the Christian economy; and their disciples have been rather buoyed up with unwarranted hopes of future happiness, than soberly and savingly taught that one tear of real contrition is worth

more than all the unsafe and unhallowed excitements of mere enthusiasm.

In these cautionary remarks, we by no means intend to cast a doubt upon all, or even a majority of those cases of late repentance which are continually presented to our attention; much less to depreciate, in the remotest degree, either the fulness or freeness of that provision of mercy which is laid up in the Saviour, even for the chief of sinners. But we are still of opinion, that too much care can hardly be taken in matters of this nature, where a mistake, once made, is a mistake for eternity; and we think that more hope may fairly be indulged, upon Christian principles, of those cases where the heart is renovated by a searching conviction of sin, than where the unskilful administration of spiritual cordials, produces a temporary and seeming relief, without touching the seat of the disease.

In deducing the practical uses from this life and death, we find the following judicious address to the professors of religion in general:

“ You may possibly agree, in general, in the commendations bestowed on the labours of an apostle; on his tranquil faith—his unwearied sufferings—his holy triumph. You may even acquiesce in much of what I have said on the Christian virtues of the eminent person whose departure we have been considering: and yet, in your own habitual character, you may be almost the exact reverse of both. Permit me then to speak to you with affectionate boldness. You are, in fact, not repenting truly of sin, nor turning with your whole heart to God in Christ Jesus. You have never asked, seriously, the great question, ‘ What must I do to be saved?’ You have never felt yourselves as sinners condemned by the holy law, nor have you come to the promises of the Gospel to ‘ receive the reconciliation.’ In other words, you have never entered on the Christian combat, nor begun the Christian race. Let me then urge you to this momentous duty. Awake, I entreat you, from the lethargy of a merely external Christianity, or the dream of a worldly-trifling self-indulgent life, and call upon your God for the blessings of his grace. ‘ Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation.’ Jesus Christ is ‘ the way, the truth, and the life.’ ‘ He is able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God by him.’ Implore of him the gift of his Holy Spirit, to teach, enlighten, strengthen, and sanctify you. It is not in your own wisdom or power, but in His, that you can succeed in this vast undertaking. ‘ Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling,’ remembering that ‘ it is God’ who alone can ‘ work in you to will and to do of his good pleasure.’ Begin the good fight of faith, and enter the heavenly race, by deep contrition for sin, and humble trust in the merits of the sacrifice of Christ, by a holy determination to renounce the service of Satan and the world, and to wage war with them all your future life. Go on afterwards by constant prayer,

jealous watchfulness, diligent study of the Scriptures, determined resistance to temptation, a holy use of the word and sacraments, sincere love to God and man, and activity in every good word and work. But, to this end, keep the faith once delivered to the saints, place all your hopes on the atonement of your Saviour, do every thing in dependence on his Holy Spirit, ascribe all your salvation to his mercy and grace: and, oh, let the animating language of the apostle in the text, and the example of our late venerated friend, invite, yea, urge you to comply with this exhortation. We must all repent, or perish. We must fight against our spiritual enemies, or be vanquished. We must win the crown of righteousness, or have our portion with the lost. There is no middle course. Religion is not an incidental matter, which may be done at any listless moment. It is the first of all concerns. It is a combat, it is a race, which demands all our attention, all our earnestness, all our exertions, all our powers and efforts of body and soul. Hear, as it were, the voice of the blessed saint, now departed, exciting you from the grave to enter on the warfare which he has accomplished, and pursue that prize which he has obtained; and may God grant that not one of us may decline the animating call, but that we may all, with one consent, yield ourselves now at length to the voice of conscience and the authority of truth!"

We shall now introduce our last extract from these Sermons, which we are unwilling to abbreviate, as we consider that such a man as Mr. Wilson may fairly claim to be heard, in his own way, upon the particular point to which he there adverts:

"The charge of Calvinism has, strange to say, become, within these last few years, a favourite topic of declamation. How far the term is rightly understood, and justly applied, I leave those to determine who are best read in the history of the Reformation. The mere assertions of fleeting and uninformed prejudice it is in vain to repel: but if any one, solicitous for truth, has been harassed by the accusation, let such an one be assured, that the revered person who has been the subject of this discourse, as well as the far greater number of those who are termed Calvinists, or Evangelical ministers, in the church of England in the present day, by no means lay any considerable stress, in their public instructions, on the deep and mysterious points which respect the purposes of God. The weight and burden of their doctrine rests on the vital and plain and undoubted verities which are essential to man's salvation, and which I have so often-adverted to in this discourse. The inspired statements which are found in Holy Scripture on other topics, are held by them indeed, but held humbly and cautiously, as they have ever been in all preceding ages of the church; they are not made prominent; they are not so represented as to conceal or weaken, much less oppose, the more clear and express and copious instructions of the same revealed records; they are found in their discourses, as they are found in the holy volume, surrounded and guarded by a sacred reverence, a preponderating caution, devout uses and effects, silent adoration, fearful awe. This abstinence arises, not from a distrust of their truth, but from submis-



sion to the book which contains them ; a submission of which the very first dictate is a silent adherence to the spirit, bearing, proportion, and use of all the parts of revelation, as well as to each doctrine in itself. Since, therefore, we find only a very few thinly-scattered texts on the subject of the secret will of God ; but almost innumerable series of texts, yea, whole books of Scripture on other topics—on the fall and corruption of man, repentance, faith, the grace and mercy of God, the person and sacrifice of Christ, humility, love, peace, forgiveness of injuries, &c. we endeavour to follow this order of instruction in our ministry. But then we cannot, we dare not wholly conceal any part of Scripture, or allow it to be, in its place, either useless or dangerous ; nor can we soften or explain away the express and continually recurring truths of salvation, in order to avoid that humiliating doctrine of the divine grace, into which, no doubt, they ultimately flow. With regard to any individual reformer, the question has really no difficulty. The excellent man, whose death we are considering, and who was at the head of what is termed the modern Calvinists, decidedly protested, in all his writings, against many important particulars to be found in the theology of Calvin ; in short, against the very points which make the tenets of Calvin at all objectionable, and in which he differed from the other reformers.”

After referring to those points, in a note Mr. Wilson adds :

“ Whatever opinion may be formed of the doctrines termed Calvinistic, I trust every reader will allow that they were, in the revered individual before us, the motive and source of all holiness of life ; not merely consistent with holiness, but productive of it, and directly leading to it : and that, in particular, they were united in his mind with such personal humility, that when he was agitated, as we have seen, by fever in his last sickness, he had doubts of his own safety ; and that he overcame these doubts, not by any reference to the supposed purposes of God, but by the plain promises of the Gospel, and the general encouragements of fervent prayer. Let me assure the reader that these are the *“*ceilings*”*, and this the conduct of the clergy, generally, who hold these sentiments, of which they conceive them to be the proper fruit.”

This statement appears to require some few observations :—In the first place, it appears to be no mean admission on the part of Mr. Wilson, in reference to the Calvinistic system, that “ many important particulars are to be found in the theology of Calvin, in which he differed from the other reformers, and against which Mr. Scott decidedly protested.” Mr. Wilson also, himself, in like manner protests against following this otherwise distinguished reformer throughout his whole system ; and, we think, such an honest avowal should teach a little caution to many of the determined disciples of Calvin, who have neither enjoyed the opportunities possessed by Mr. Scott, and his biographer, for considering the sacred volume in all its parts, nor yet possessed their polemical talents in disinterring and dis-

entangling truth; while it may also teach them a little charity for those persons whom they are in the habit of summarily designating as Arminians, and then considering that there is an end of the argument. On the other hand, we agree with Mr. Wilson, that all the concessions should not be on one side; and that, since "the odium of all Calvin's system is cast, not only on Mr. Scott, but on numbers who stop far short of him on the Calvinistic points, nay, who entirely disapprove of them," there should be at least an equal exercise of candour and charity on the part of many who have never yet learned to distinguish between those who hold so much of Calvin's system as perhaps even the church of England herself maintains, and those who are willing to run all lengths with that reformer, no matter where they may carry them. The judicious advice of Bishop Horsey to the mere railers against Calvinism, will naturally occur to every reader who has met with it; while we are persuaded that they, to whom it is new, will thank us for the extract:

"Take heed," says he, "before you aim your shafts at Calvinism, that you know what is Calvinism, and what is not: that in that mass of doctrine, which it is of late become the fashion to abuse, under the name of Calvinism, you can distinguish with certainty between that part of it which is nothing better than Calvinism, and that which belongs to our common Christianity, and the general faith of the reformed churches; lest, when you mean only to fall foul of Calvinism, you should, unwarily, attack something more sacred, and of higher origin. I must say, that I have found great want of this discrimination in some late controversial writings on the side of the Church, (as they were meant to be,) against the Methodists; the authors of which have acquired much applause and reputation, but with so little real knowledge of the subject, that, give me the principles upon which these writers agree, and I will undertake to convict, I will not say Arminians only, and Archbishop Laud, but, upon these principles, I will undertake to convict the Fathers of the Council of Trent of Calvinism; so clearly is a great part of that, which is now ignorantly called Calvinism, interwoven with the very rudiments of Christianity. Better were it for the church, if such apologists would withhold their services."

In conclusion, we think that if there be one part of this little volume likely to be more useful than another, it is, perhaps, that in which Mr. Wilson shows that he has no desire to claim too much for Calvinism, nor to call any man master on earth, farther than he can be shown to have followed our common Master which is in heaven. We think this concession of Mr. Wilson likely to be attended with beneficial results, in proportion as the sacred cause of truth is above the petty interests of a party, and is independent of the adventitious support of even the most

splendid names; because, while no reproach is avoided, or sought to be avoided, by him, which the ignorant, or the ill-posed may still choose to cast upon Calvinists, as Christians; there is yet a candid abandonment of those parts of the system of Calvin, which are not to be defended, and of course an invitation is thus virtually held out to all really honest brethren of different sentiments in the same household, who have not, perhaps, as yet, adverted to the intrinsic merits of the question at issue, nor attentively considered the actual points in difference, to judge for themselves, how very little, after all, good men are really differing with each other upon points of fundamental importance. We cannot but hail this trumpet for a parley, as likely to prove the herald of peace; and whatever tends to the promotion of union and harmony in the present conflict of sentiments, even in the same church, must surely be desirable. Let ultra-calvinists renounce their extravagancies, and rigid Arminians their prejudices, and much may yet be effected for our common happiness. In the mean time, let us rather strive to discover in what particulars we can agree, than define too nicely, or dwell too much upon, the points on which we differ; so that the golden and almost apostolic desire of one of the ancient fathers may yet be realized in our experience. "Let there be unity in things essential, liberty in non-essentials, and charity in all things."

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ART. III.—*Memoirs of a Life chiefly passed in Pennsylvania, within the last sixty Years.* 1 Vol. 8vo. P. 431. Cadell. London, 1822.

OF the birth, parentage, and introduction into society of this entertaining and well-written volume, all that we are informed is, that it was composed by a gentleman of Pennsylvania, and printed at Harrisburgh, in that State, in 1811; and that Mr. Galt, of Edinburgh, having discovered its merit, has just given it to the British public, with a dedication to Mr. Rush, the American ambassador at our court, who had devoted some attention to the satisfaction of Mr. Galt's inquiries respecting the author, but with what results is not stated.

The first chapter presents us with an account of the author's family and education; and with anecdotes of the "masters and ushers" of the academy at Philadelphia. His father, it seems, was an Irishman, who went to America in the year 1730, where he married the author's mother, who had been imported from Barbadoes at the age of seven years. The author,

in his youth, had occasion to consort with an amusing variety of characters, of so many sects and countries, that we imagined, at the commencement of the volume, the whole narrative was fictitious; and even now we cannot but suspect that for a part of our entertainment we are indebted to a lively imagination. The general tenor, however, leaves no room to doubt that it is a real history, abounding with numerous memoranda of persons and events, some of great note, and others of no note except what they derive from the graphical skill of the delineator. The author condescends, through several chapters, to *gossip* about his youthful companions and their pursuits, without very nicely considering whether all his notices are worthy of being recorded: his very gossip, however, is that of a man of intelligence and literature. A few of these gossiping paragraphs we shall now venture to extract; premising that the writer has purposely chosen the style of a desultory personal narrative, in order to weave in, with facility, the incongruous mass of materials laid up in his tenacious memory during a period of no ordinary interest in the annals of his native country.

“My recollections of the village of Bristol, in which I was born on the 10th of April, N. S. in the year 1752, cannot be supposed to go farther back than to the year 1750 or 1757. There are few towns, perhaps, in Pennsylvania, which, in the same space of time, have been so little improved, or undergone less alteration. Then, as now, the great road leading from Philadelphia to New York, first skirting the inlet, at the head of which stand the mills, and then turning short to the left along the banks of the Delaware, formed the principal, and, indeed, only street, marked by any thing like a continuity of building. A few places for streets were opened from this main one, on which, here and there, stood an humble, solitary dwelling. At a corner of two of these lanes was a Quaker meeting-house; and on a still more retired spot stood a small Episcopal church, whose *lovely* grave yard, with its surrounding woody scenery, might have furnished an appropriate theme for such a muse as Gray’s. These, together with an old brick jail, (Bristol having once been the county town of Bucks,) constituted all the public edifices in this my native town.” (P. 4.)

“The tongue of my grandfather, who was a German, faithfully retained the character of its original dialect; that of his spouse, though in a less degree, bore testimony also to the country of her extraction (Scotland;) and while he, a determined Episcopalian, had his pew in Christ’s Church, she, a strict Presbyterian, was a constant attendant at Buttonwood meeting-house. No feuds, however, were engendered by this want of religious conformity; and if my grandfather sometimes consented to hear a sermon at the meeting-house, it might be considered as a concession on his part for a sermon of Archbishop Tillotson, which was regularly read aloud by one of the family on Sunday evening.” (P. 9.)

"There being no traces in my memory of any incidents worthy of remark, during the period of my infancy, I pass on to the era of my removal to Philadelphia, for the sake of my education. This I suppose to have been between my sixth and seventh year. I recollect little or nothing of going to school at Bristol, farther than that there was one, and the master's name Pinkerton, a kind, good humoured Irishman, from whom I might have learned, that as one thing was *cruel* big, so another might be *cruel* little. In the city I lived with, and was under the care of, my grandfather. The school he first put me to was that of David James Dove, an Englishman, and much celebrated in his day, as a teacher, and no less as a dealer in the minor kind of satirical poetry. To him were attributed some political effusions in this way, which were thought highly of by his party, and made a good deal of noise. He had also made some figure, it seems, in the old world, being spoken of, as I have heard, though in what way I know not, having never seen the work, in a book, entitled, *The Life and Adventures of the Chevalier Taylor*. As the story went, some one reading this performance to Mr. Dove on its first appearance, with the mischievous design of amusing himself at his expence, as he knew what the book contained, he (Dove) bore testimony to the truth of the contents; with which, he said, he was perfectly acquainted, exclaiming, as the reader went along, True, true as the gospel! But when the part was reached, in which he himself is introduced in a situation somewhat ridiculous, he cried out, It was a lie, a most abominable lie, and that there was not a syllable of truth in the story. At any rate, Dove was a humourist, and a person not unlikely to be engaged in ludicrous scenes. It was his practice in his school to substitute disgrace for corporal punishment. His birch was rarely used in canonical method, but was generally stuck into the back part of the collar of the unfortunate culprit, who, with this badge of disgrace towering from his nape like a broom at the mast-head of a vessel for sale, was compelled to take his stand upon the top of the form for such a period of time as his offence was thought to deserve. He had another contrivance for boys who were late in their morning attendance. This was to dispatch a committee of five or six scholars for them, with a bell and lighted lantern, and in this "odd equipage," in broad day-light, the bell all the while tingling, were they escorted through the streets to school. As Dove affected a strict regard to justice in his dispensations of punishment, and always professed a willingness to have an equal measure of it meted out to himself, in case of his transgressing, the boys took him at his word; and one morning, when he had overstaid his time, either through laziness, inattention, or design, he found himself waited on in the usual form. He immediately admitted the justice of the procedure, and putting himself behind the lantern and bell, marched with great solemnity to school, to the no small gratification of the boys, and entertainment of the spectators. But this incident took place before I became a scholar. It was once my lot to be attended in this manner, but what had been sport to my tutor, was to me a serious punishment." (P. 13—15.)

At eight years of age the author entered the academy, which,

under the name of a university, was then, as it is now, the principal seminary of Pennsylvania. He had a short time before, namely, in March, 1761, had the unhappiness to lose his father; after whose death his mother maintained herself and her son in reputable circumstances by keeping a lodging-house, first, for the boys of the academy, and afterwards in a large old mansion for temporary visitants of Philadelphia. The second chapter contains sundry anecdotes of the personages who domesticated themselves with this lady, among whom was Sir William Draper, best known as the antagonist of Junius. He was, it seems, a literal as well as political and literary "racket-player."

"From Philadelphia, Sir William passed on to New York, where, if I mistake not, he married. During his residence in that city, he frequently amused himself with a game of rackets, which he played with some address; and he set no small value on the talent. There was a mechanic in the place, the hero of the tennis court, who was so astonishingly superior to other men, that there were few whom he could not beat with one hand attached to the handle of a wheelbarrow. Sir William wished to play with him, and was gratified; the New Yorker having urbanity enough to cede the splendid stranger some advantages, and even in conquering, to put on the appearance of doing it with difficulty: Yet, apart, he declared that he could have done the same with the incumbrance of the wheelbarrow. These are hearsay facts: They come, however, from persons of credit, in the way of being acquainted with them.

"But what imports it the reader to know, that Sir William Draper was a racket-player? Nothing, certainly, unless we reflect, that he was a conspicuous character, the conqueror of Manilla, and still more, the literary opponent of Junius. Without granting something to celebrity of this latter sort, what possible interest could we take in learning that Dr. Johnson liked a leg of pork, or that he could swallow twelve or more cups of tea at a sitting?" (P. 62, 63.)

Some of the most troublesome guests in Pennsylvania, at this period, were the British officers stationed in that town; and who appear to have indulged in a variety of freaks, to which the title of unlucky, mischievous, or disgraceful, is currently applied, according to the taste and principles of the narrator. The most troublesome of these strangers were the duumvirate Ogle and Friend, whose names were coupled together as closely as Castor and Pollux, or Pylades and Orestes. Ogle seems, from the following anecdote, to have mixed some degree of humour with his mischief:

"This same coffeehouse, the only one, indeed, in the city, was also the scene of another affray by Ogle and Friend in conjunction. I know not what particular acts of mischief they had been guilty of, but they were very drunk, and their conduct so extremely disquieting and insulting to the peaceable citizens there assembled, that, being no longer

able to endure it, it was judged expedient to commit them; and Mr. Chew happening to be there, undertook, in virtue probably of his office of recorder, to write their commitment: But Ogle, facetiously jogging his elbow, and interrupting him with a repetition of the pitiful interjection of ‘*Ah now, Mr. Chew!*’ he was driven from his gravity, and obliged to throw away the pen. It was then taken up by Alderman M—n, with a determination to go through with the business, when the culprits reeling round him, and Ogle in particular, hanging over his shoulder and reading after him as he wrote, at length, with irresistible effect, hit upon an unfortunate oversight of the alderman. “*Ah,*” says he, “my father was a justice of peace too, but he did not spell that word as you do. I remember perfectly well, that, instead of an S, he always used to spell CIRCUMSTANCE with a C.” This sarcastic thrust at the scribe entirely turned the tide in favour of the rioters, and the company being disarmed of their resentment, the alderman had no disposition to provoke further criticism by going on with the *mittimus*. (P. 45, 46.)

The author being destined for the profession of the law was removed, in 1773, to the village of Yorktown, where it was hoped he might not only study in tranquillity, under Mr. prothonotary Johnson, but also recover his health, which had been somewhat impaired by an “irregular course of life;” in plain English, according to *our* notions of virtue and of English, a life of vicious idleness. We are happy, however, to add, that the author takes no pride in his early dissipation. He very freely styles himself “puppy,” when the occasion makes the term appropriate; and never speaks of his early habits but in terms of implied disapprobation, though not perhaps always so decided as was necessary to guard the youthful reader against the danger of imitation. His companions and pursuits at Yorktown do not seem to have been of a much more edifying character than at Philadelphia, if we may judge from the following specimen:

“Besides my fellow-boarders there were several young men in the town, whose company served to relieve the dreariness of my solitude; for such it was, compared with the scene from which I had removed. These, for the most part, are yet living, generally known and respected. There was also in the place an oddity, who, though not to be classed with its young men, I sometimes fell in with. This was Mr. James Smith, the lawyer, then in considerable practice. He was, probably, between forty and fifty years of age, fond of his bottle and young company, and possessed of an original species of drollery. This, as may, perhaps, be said of all persons in his way, consisted more in the manner than the matter; for which reason it is scarcely possible to convey a just notion of it to the reader. In him it much depended on an uncouthness of gesture, a certain ludicrous cast of countenance, and a drawling mode of utterance, which, taken in conjunction with his eccentric ideas, produced an effect irresistibly comical; though, on an analysis, it would be difficult to decide whether the man or the



saying most constituted the jest. The most trivial incident from his mouth was stamped with his originality, and in relating one evening how he had been disturbed in his office by a cow, he gave inconceivable zest to his narration, by his manner of telling how she thrust her nose into the door, *and there roared like a Numidian lion*. Like the picture of Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy, his phiz exhibited a struggle between tragedy and farce; in which the latter seemed on the eve of predominating. With a sufficiency of various reading to furnish him with materials for ridiculous allusions and incongruous combinations, he was never so successful as when he could find a learned pedant to play upon; and of all men, Judge Stedman, when mellow, was best calculated for his butt. The judge was a Scotchman, a man of reading and erudition, though extremely magisterial and dogmatical in his cups. This it was which gave point to the humour of Smith, who, as if desirous of coming in for his share of the glory, while Stedman was in full display of his historical knowledge, never failed to set him raving by some monstrous anachronism, such, for instance, as "Don't you remember, Mr. Stedman, that terrible bloody battle which Alexander the Great fought with the Russians, near the Straits of Babelmandel?"—"What, Sir!" said Stedman, repeating, with the most ineffable contempt, "which Alexander the Great fought with the Russians! Where, mon, did you get your chronology?"—"I think you will find it recorded, Mr. Stedman, in Thucydides or Herodotus."—On another occasion, being asked for his authority for some enormous assertion, in which both space and time were fairly annihilated, with unshaken gravity, he replied, "I am pretty sure I have seen an account of it, Mr. Stedman, in a High Dutch almanack, printed at *Aleppo*," his drawling way of pronouncing Aleppo. While every one at table was holding his sides at the expence of the Judge, he, on his part had no doubt that Smith was the object of laughter, as he was of his own unutterable disdain. Thus every thing was as it should be, all parties were pleased; the laughers were highly tickled, the self-complacency of the real dupe was flattered, and the sarcastic vein of the pretended one gratified; and this, without the smallest suspicion on the part of Stedman, who, residing in Philadelphia, was ignorant of Smith's character, and destitute of penetration to develope it." (P. 102—104.)

On his return to Philadelphia the author became clerk to Mr. Allen, another prothonotary; in which situation he appears to have annihilated a large portion of his time in the strenuous prosecution of trifling objects, till the rising disturbances with Great Britain summoned him to far different scenes. He thus introduces himself at the commencement of the fifth chapter:

"In the spring of 1775 Congress assembled in Philadelphia. It was in every respect a venerable assembly; and although Pennsylvania had delegated to it some of her most distinguished characters, they were supposed to be eclipsed by the superior talents which came from the southward and eastward. New England had sent her Adamses, and

Virginia her Lees and Henrys; all of whom were spoken of as men of the first rate abilities. Not long after the organization of this body, their president, Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, died, and John Hancock, of Boston, was selected to supply his place. Towards the close of the year, they passed a resolution for levying some continental battalions, four of which were to be raised in Pennsylvania. One had already been raised and officered by the province; but as the applicants for commissions in this were not of my set of acquaintance, I did not apply. Upon the promulgation, however, of this resolution of congress, I signified to the committee of safety, in whom the power of appointment was lodged, and of which body my uncle was a member, my wish to be employed. The appointments were made, and in a list of thirty-two captains, I ranked the sixteenth, and accordingly received my commission from Congress, dated January the 6th, 1776. Upon this nomination of the committee of safety, which also extended to all the inferior commissioned officers, the field officers, who had already been assigned to particular battalions, had a meeting for the purpose of selecting their captains and subalterns. In this arrangement, it fell to my lot to be attached to the third battalion, under the command of Colonel John Shee, and of which Mr. Lambert Cadwalader, the younger brother of Mr. John Cadwalader, already mentioned, was lieutenant-colonel." (P. 125, 126.)

From this period the volume becomes highly interesting, on account of the familiarity of the writer with a variety of scenes and persons worthy of record in the memorable contest between Great Britain and her refractory daughter. The author commenced his military and political career as a friend to the liberties of his country; but by no means to the violent party spirit which began to actuate so many of her professed patriots. Though opposed in arms to Great Britain, he is not backward in acknowledging the merits of many of her officers, or in frankly stating what he considered exceptionable in the conduct of his own party.

The author having thus entered the patriotic, or, as it was then termed, the *rebel* army, joined his regiment, and proceeded from Philadelphia to New York, in the neighbourhood of which it was encamped. The place chosen for the entrenchments was a post afterwards known by the name of Fort Washington, on the eastern bank of the Hudson, and commanding that river. In a few weeks the spade, that ancient ally of the sword, had produced immense mounds of earth, assuming a pentagonal form, and finally issuing in the aforesaid fort of five bastions. On the opposite side of the river, Fort Lee was soon afterwards erected, nodding, in conscious pride, to its opposite neighbour Washington; and these precautions, with a few hulks sunk in the river, it was hoped would effectually defend the passage against the invaders.—But it is time that we should inform our

reader of the character of the soldiery in the insurgent army, whom our author by no means spares in his good-humoured sketches.

"A considerable portion of our motley army had already assembled in New York and its vicinity. The troops were chiefly from the eastern provinces; those from the southern, with the exception of Hand's, Magaw's, and our regiment, had not yet come on. The appearance of things was not much calculated to excite sanguine expectations in the mind of a sober observer. Great numbers of people were indeed to be seen, and those who are not accustomed to the sight of bodies under arms are always prone to exaggerate them. But this propensity to swell the mass had not an equal tendency to convert it into soldiery; and the irregularity, want of discipline, bad arms, and defective equipment in all respects, of this multitudinous assemblage, gave no favourable impression of its prowess. The materials of which the eastern battalions were composed were apparently the same as those of which I had seen so unpromising a specimen at lake George. I speak particularly of the officers, who were in no single respect distinguishable from their men, other than in the coloured cockades, which, for this very purpose, had been prescribed in general orders, a different colour being assigned to the officers of each grade. So far from aiming at a deportment which might raise them above their privates, and thence prompt them to due respect and obedience to their commands, the object was, by humility, to preserve the existing blessing of equality; an illustrious instance of which was given by Colonel Putnam, the chief engineer of the army, and no less a personage than the nephew of the major-general of that name. "What," says a person meeting him one day with a piece of meat in his hand, "carrying home your rations yourself, colonel!"—"Yes," says he, "and I do it to set the officers a good example." But if any aristocratic tendencies had been really discovered by the Colonel among his countrymen, requiring this wholesome example, they must have been of recent origin, and the effect of southern contamination, since I have been credibly informed, that it was an unusual thing in the army before Boston, for a colonel to make drummers and fifers of his sons, thereby not only being enabled to form a very snug economicalness, but to aid also considerably the revenue of the family chest. In short, it appeared, that the sordid spirit of gain was the vital principle of the greater part of the army. (P. 145, 146.)

The character of insurgent armies is every where pretty much the same; and it reflected no discredit upon General Washington, or the infant Congress, that honest labourers and mechanics could not in a moment be transmuted to well-disciplined soldiers; or that in the hurry of the exigence, and with but very limited financial resources, their habiliments and materiel should not have been altogether adjusted to the pride, pomp, and circumstance of war. It was, however, somewhat to the discredit of the forces that very few persons in the rank of gen-

tle men were at this period to be found among them: a circumstance which may perhaps account, in some measure, for the extreme contempt in which they were held by the British army and people.

The sixth and seventh chapters contain an account of the arrival of the British troops, under General Howe, at Long Island; followed by some skirmishes and actions, which ended in the expulsion of the Americans from that post, and also their abandonment of New York, and retreat within their lines at Fort Washington, where they were shortly afterwards attacked and obliged to retire, leaving the British troops in full possession of the post and neighbourhood. The description of the storming and capture of Fort Washington is sketched with great spirit.

In this engagement our gallant author was taken prisoner, and, being considered as a rebel, received no very courteous treatment from some of the conquerors: but we shall leave him to narrate his own tale.

“The officer who commanded the guard, in whose custody we now were, was an ill-looking, low-bred fellow, of this dashing corps of light infantry. Had dates accorded, he might have been supposed the identical scoundrel that had sat for the portrait of Northerton, in Fielding’s *Tom Jones*. As I stood as near as possible to the door, for the sake of air, the enclosure in which we were being extremely crowded and unpleasant, I was particularly exposed to his brutality; and repelling with some severity one of his attacks, for I was becoming desperate and careless of safety, the ruffian exclaimed, *Not a word, Sir, or I’ll give you my butt*, at the same time clubbing his fusée, and drawing it back as if to give the blow. I fully expected it, but he contented himself with the threat. I observed to him, that I was in his power, and disposed to submit to it, though not proof against every provocation.

“As to see the prisoners was a matter of some curiosity, we were complimented with a continual succession of visitants, consisting of officers of the British army. There were several of these present, when a serjeant-major came to take an account of us; and, particularly, a list of such of us as were officers. This serjeant, though not uncivil, had all that animated, dégagée-impudence of air, which belongs to a self-complacent non-commissioned officer of the most arrogant army in the world; and with his pen in his hand and his paper on his knee, applied to each of us, in turn, for his rank. He had just set mine down, when he came to a little squat militia officer from York county, who, somewhat to the deterioration of his appearance, had substituted the dirty crown of an old hat, for a plunder-worthy beaver that had been taken from him by a Hessian. He was known to be an officer from having been assembled among us for the purpose of enumeration. *You are an officer, Sir?* said the serjeant. *Yes*, was the answer. *Your rank, Sir?* with a significant smile. *I am a keppun*, replied the little man in a chuff firm tone. Upon this, there

was an immoderate roar of laughter among the officers about the door, who were attending to the process; and I am not sure I did not laugh myself. When it had subsided, one of them, addressing himself to me, observed, with a compliment that had much more of sour than sweet in it, that he was really astonished that I should have taken any thing less than a regiment. To remove as much as possible the sting of this sarcastic thrust at our service, for, I must confess, I was not sufficiently republican to be insensible of its force, I told him, that the person who had produced their merriment belonged to the militia, and that, in his line, as a farmer, he was no doubt honest and respectable.

“Although the day was seasonably cool, yet, from the number crowded in the barn, the air within was oppressive and suffocating, which, in addition to the agitations of the day, had produced an excessive thirst; and there was a continual cry for water. I cannot say that this want was unattended to: the soldiers were continually administering to it by bringing water in a bucket. But, though we, who were about the door, did well enough, the supply was very inadequate to such a number of mouths; and many must have suffered much. Our situation brought to my recollection that of Captain Holwell and his party in the Black Hole at Calcutta; and had the weather been equally hot, we should not have been much better off. The fellow who had menaced me with his butt stood with his fusee across the door, and kept us closely immured. I did not choose to ask favours of him; but addressing myself to the officers without the door, who had been put in good humour by their laugh at our poor militia captain, I asked them, if they made no distinction between officers and privates. Most certainly we do, said one of them. I then observed, that it would be very agreeable to us to be somewhat separated from them now, and to receive a little fresh air. Upon this the sentinels were withdrawn to the distance of about ten or twelve feet from the building; and we were told, that such of us as were officers might walk before the door. This was a great relief to us, as well as to the men in giving them more room.” (P. 210—213.)

The candid author is not less forward to record the good than the ill offices he received; and the following characteristic portrait of a British officer, with the writer's remarks upon the humane attentions paid to the comforts of the privates of our army, furnish a very gratifying and honourable counterpart to the preceding statements.

“In the evening, a most advantageous change took place, and, from the custody of a low ruffian, we were transferred to that of a gentleman.

“This was Lieutenant Becket, to the best of my recollection of the 27th or 37th regiment. Upon taking the guard in the evening, he expressed concern about our lodging, and proposed to us to accompany him into the barn-loft to see whether that would do. He was also attended by some of his brother officers. We ascended by a very good step ladder, and found a spacious room, well roofed and floored, and clear of lumber. This, gentlemen, I think, may do, said he; I dare say,

you have sometimes lodged in a worse place. That we had, we told him, and that this was as comfortable as we could desire. I will send you, if I can, said he, at going away, a bottle of wine; but, at any rate, a bottle of spirits, and as to the latter, he was as good as his word; a soldier, in about a quarter of an hour, brought it to us, and this was our substitute for supper as well as dinner. In the morning, a little after sunrise, a soldier brought me Mr. Becket's compliments, with a request that I would come down and breakfast with him, bringing two of my friends with me, as he had not the means of entertaining more. I thankfully accepted his invitation, and took with me Forrest and Tudor. He was seated on a bench before the door, with a good fire before him, and the soldiers of the guard in a semicircle about him. Besides the bench, we were accommodated with a chair or two, and he gave us a dish of very good coffee, with plenty of excellent toast, which was the only morsel we had eaten for the last twenty-four hours; more fortunate in this than our fellow-sufferers, who got nothing until the next morning, when the first provisions were drawn. The soldiers were chatting and cracking their jokes on each other while we breakfasted; and I was surprised at the easy familiarity which seemed to prevail between them and their officer. But it appeared to be perfectly understood between them, that their coteries, though so near each other as that every word from either might be heard by both, were yet entirely distinct, and that each had an exclusive right to its own conversation; still they did not interrupt ours, being silent when we talked. The fact was, that Mr. Becket was the darling of his soldiers; and one of them told us, that we should find few men like him. I had here an opportunity to observe the striking difference between their appointments and ours. While our poor fellows were some of them already ragged, and even the best of them clad in flimsy thread-bare clothes, with worse stockings and shoes, these were tight and comfortable in body and limbs; and every soldier was accommodated with a woollen night-cap, which most of them had yet on. A sad contrast for the contemplation of the American soldier! Wisdom is no less attributable to nations than to individuals; and the British army, if I may so express myself, is a sensible establishment, in which every possible regard is had to both comfort and safety. Though, in extremities, it may be the business of the soldier to die, it is not forgotten that he is to live if he can, consistent with his duty; and to this consideration, it appears to me, much attention was paid by General Howe in his operations against our post. He could not have had a doubt that his attack would be successful, yet this was not enough: it must be conducted with an eye to the saving of men, and the purchasing it as cheap as possible. Had he immediately advanced against our lines on the south, the loss of the British troops would, in all probability, have been heavy; whereas, in making his principal effort by Haerlem river under cover of his batteries, it was comparatively small; and when he had gained the high grounds in this quarter, he was at once master of the field." (P. 216—218.)

The prisoners being marched to New York, the author was

allowed to take lodgings in the city, on parole. Here he amused himself with his captive companions as well as their uneasy circumstances admitted, till removed by a new location to a miserable place called Flatbush, in Long Island; a very unwelcome exchange to the whole party, though not accompanied with any measures of severity or unnecessary restriction. The character of a singular Dutch family on whom the author was billeted in this retreat, is delineated as follows:

“Mr. Forrest and myself were billeted on a Mr. Jacob Suydam. His house was pretty large, consisting of buildings which appeared to have been erected at different times, the front and better part of which was in the occupation of Mr. Theophilact Bache and his family from New York. Though we were in general civilly enough received, it cannot be supposed that we were very welcome to our Low Dutch hosts, whose habits of living were extremely parsimonious, and whose winter provision was barely sufficient for themselves. Had they been sure of receiving the two dollars a week, it might have reconciled them to the measure; but payment appeared to them to depend on the success of our cause, (Congress or ourselves being looked upon as the paymasters,) and its failure, in their eyes, would in both cases induce a stoppage of payment. They were, however, a people who seemed thoroughly disposed to submit to any power which might be set over them; and whatever might have been their propensities or demonstrations at an earlier stage of the contest, they were now the dutiful and loyal subjects of his Majesty George the Third; and entirely obedient to the behests of their military masters in New York. As it was at the instance of these that we were saddled upon them, they received us with the best grace they could put on. Their houses and beds we found clean; but their living extremely poor, and well calculated to teach the luxurious, how infinitely less than their pampered appetites require, is essential to the sustentation of life. A sorry wash, made up of a sprinkling of bohea, and the darkest sugar on the verge of fluidity, with half baked bread, fuel being among the scarcest articles at Flatbush, and a little stale butter, constituted our breakfast. At our first coming, a small piece of pickled beef was occasionally boiled for dinner, but, to the beef, which was soon consumed, succeeded *clippers* or clams, and our unvaried supper was *supon* or mash, sometimes with skimmed milk, but more generally with buttermilk blended with molasses, which was kept for weeks in a churn, as swill is saved for hogs. I found it, however, after a little use, very eatable; and supper soon became my best meal. The table company consisted of the master of the house, Mr. Jacob Suydam, an old bachelor, a young man, a shoemaker of the name of Rem Hagerman, married to Jacob's niece, who, with a mewling infant in her arms, never failed to appear. A black boy too was generally in the room; not as a waiter, but as a kind of *enfant de maison*, who walked about, or took post in the chimney corner with his hat on, and occasionally joined in the conversation. It is probable, that, but for us, he would have been placed at the table, and that it had been the custom before we came. Certain it is, that

the idea of equality was more fully and fairly acted upon in this house of a British subject, than ever I have seen it practised by the most vehement declamers for the rights of man among ourselves. It is but fair, however, to mention, that I have never been among our transcendent republicans of Virginia and her dependencies. But notwithstanding some unpleasant circumstances in our establishment, every member of the family, the black fellow, to whom we had been the cause of some privations, excepted, was exceedingly courteous and accommodating. Rem Hagerman, and Yonichy his wife, gave themselves no airs; nor was our harmony with uncle Jacob ever interrupted, but on a single occasion, when, soured a little by I know not what provocation, he made a show of knocking down Forrest with a pair of yarn stockings he had just drawn from his legs, as he sat in the chimney corner one evening preparing for bed. But moments of peevishness were allowable to our host: since, though we had for sometime been consuming his provisions, he had never seen a penny of our money, and it was somewhat doubtful, to say the truth, whether he ever would; for, considering the contractors for our boarding liable for it, we never thought of paying it ourselves. As the Low Dutch are a people little known in Pennsylvania, and more especially, as it is my avowed intention to advert to the character of the time, this sketch of their domestic economy and manners may not be thought impertinent.

• In a word, from what I saw of them on Long Island, I was led to consider them as a people, quiet and inoffensive beyond any I had seen; such, from whom no enthusiastic efforts, either of good or evil tendency, were to be looked for; who were neither prolific of Catos nor Catilines; and who, had they been the sole occupants of this great continent of ours, would still have been colonists, and never known what it was to be independent republicans. Their religious, like their other habits, were unostentatious and plain; and a silent grace before meat prevailed at the table of Jacob Suydam." (P. 257—261.)

From this state of durance, the young republican was at length emancipated by the affectionate and intrepid exertions of his mother, who appears to have been a gentlewoman of peculiarly dignified and agreeable manners. She contrived to obtain an interview with General Howe, and by her rhetoric and representations, prevailed upon that officer to allow her son to return home, upon condition of not appearing in arms till an exchange of prisoners should be effected. There seems to be some degree of mystery in this part of the narrative, which we cannot fully comprehend. It does not appear probable that a British commander would have allowed himself to compromise his official duties by the release of a prisoner, at the mere solicitation of his parent. We could almost suspect, notwithstanding the author's intimation to the contrary, that the mother, who had always been very British in her connexions and conduct, was induced to represent her son as a foolish inexperienced young man, who had been seduced by the rebels to join their party,



but who would no doubt return to better counsels if restored to his maternal mansion. It is at least certain that from this period the author never joined the army, even after the exchange of prisoners; a fact, however, which he states to have arisen from the circumstance of his regiment having been broken up after the capture at Washington, and from the disgust which he felt at the injustice displayed in the army promotions, new officers being advanced to the higher posts, while the old ones were forgotten. He seems to have considered himself as dead, in a military view, from the moment of his captivity; on emerging from which he found his juniors advanced above him, so that he determined to lay down his sword; a resolution which he so tenaciously kept, that though upon resigning his commission his fellow citizens took care to enrol him in the militia, he refused to discharge its duties, for which he was amerced in a considerable fine. Let the admirers of revolutions, and the advocates of republican justice and democratical virtue weigh the following statements:

“Pelf, it now appeared, was a better goal than liberty; and at no period in my recollection was the worship of Mammon more widely spread, or more sordid and disgusting. Those who had fought the battles of the country, at least in the humbler grades, had, as yet, earned nothing but poverty and contempt; while their wiser fellow-citizens, who had attended to their interests, were the men of mark and consideration. As to military rank, no man seemed to be without it who had an inclination for it; and the title of Major was the very lowest that a dasher of any figure would accept of. Nothing more was wanting for its attainment than to clap on a uniform and pair of epaulets, and scamper about with some militia general for a day or two; and thus the real soldier was superseded, even in the career of glory. Never having been good at a scramble, as already observed, whether honour or profit were the meed, I did not press into the field of pretension; and being in a state of apathy as to the political parties, I declined enlisting with either.” (P. 350, 351.)

From this period our author seems to have had somewhat of a surfeit of the boasted “sovereignty of the people;” a circumstance not to be wondered at when we read the following description of the state of affairs as they presented themselves to his view on his return to Philadelphia, after his captivity.

“One of the first things which struck us, on getting within our own territory, was the high price of wine and other liquors. We attributed this to their growing scarcity, though equally owing, probably, to the incipient depreciation of the paper currency, of which we had then no idea. We saw, to our great surprise, no military parade upon our journey, nor any indication of martial vigour on the part of the country. General Washington, with the little remnant of his army at Morristown, seemed left to scuffle for liberty, like another Cato at Utica. Here and there we saw a militia man with his contrasted

coloured cape and facings; and we found, besides, that "captains, majors, and colonels, had become "dog-cheap" in the land. But, unfortunately, these war-functionaries were not found at the head of their men. They, more generally, figured as bar-keepers, condescendingly serving out small measures of liquor to their less dignified customers. Still were they brimful of patriotism, the prevailing feature of which was, to be no less ardent in their pursuit, than fervent in their hatred of Tories." (P. 298.)

"I soon discovered that a material change had taken place during my absence from Pennsylvania; and that the pulses of many that, at the time of my leaving it, had beaten high in the cause of Whiggism and liberty, were considerably lowered. Power, to use a language which had already ceased to be orthodox, and could therefore only be whispered, had fallen into low hands. The better sort were disgusted and weary of the war. Congress, indeed, had given out that they had counted the cost of the contest; but it was but too apparent that very many of their adherents had made false calculations on the subject, having neither allowed enough for disasters in the field, nor domestic chagrins, the inevitable consequence of a dissolution of old power and the assumption of new. It was, in fact, just beginning to be perceived, that the ardour of the inflamed multitude is not to be tempered; and that the instigators of revolutions are rarely those who are destined to conclude them, or profit by them. The great cause of schism among the Whigs had been the declaration of independence. Its adoption had, of course, rendered numbers malcontent; and thence, by a very natural transition, consigned them to the Tory ranks. Unfortunately for me, this was the predicament in which I found my nearest and best friend, whose example had, no doubt, contributed to the formation of my political opinions, and whose advice, concurring with my own sense of duty, had placed me in the army. I now discovered, that we no longer thought or felt alike; and though no rupture took place, some coldness ensued; and I have to regret a few words of asperity which passed between us, on occasion of the French alliance. But this was but a momentary blast; as neither of us was infected with that hateful bigotry which, too generally, actuated Whigs and Tories, and led to mutual persecution, as one or other had the ascendancy. As to the Whigs, the very cause for which they contended was essentially that of freedom; and yet all the freedom it granted was, at the peril of tar and feathers, to think and act like themselves; the extent, indeed, of all toleration proceeding from the multitude, whether advocating the divine right of a king—the divine sovereignty of the people—or of the idol it may be pleased to constitute its unerring plenipotentiary. Toleration is only to be looked for upon points in which men are indifferent; or where they are duly checked and restrained by a salutary authority." (P. 299—301.)

Our readers will, by this time have perceived that the author, though a republican, is by no means an anarchist. His chief aim, in the latter half of his volume, seems to have been to stem the torrent of Gallican principles, which at the period when he

wrote (1811) was making great progress in America. We shall present our readers with two or three passages connected with these topics, which are not less interesting in Great Britain than in the United States of America.

“ Mrs. Macauley was not the only person of her nation, who had found the republicanism of the New World lagging shamefully behind that of the Old. Experience is the best of schools; and, in the philanthropic science of levelling, as in others, we may truly say:

Here, shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,  
And drinking largely sobers us again.

One of the strongest cases in point, and which has been strangely overlooked, is that of the poet Milton, against whom the great Samuel Johnson is supposed to be even more than usually intolerant. He certainly could not have been aware, nor Mr. Boswell either, (or from his profusion, we should have heard of it,) of the following passage in the *Paradise Regained*, the last work, and, therefore, to be presumed to contain the last and most solemn opinion of its author.

And what the people, but a herd confus'd,  
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol  
Things vulgar, and well weigh'd, scarce worth the praise!  
They praise and they admire they know not what;  
And know not whom, but as one leads the other;  
And what delight to be by such extoll'd,  
To live upon their tongues, and be their talk,  
Of whom to be despised were no small praise.

It would be difficult to conceive sentiments more at variance with the republican maxim of *Vox populi vox Dei*; and yet they are the sentiments of the sublime poet John Milton, the democrat, the regicide, the secretary and parasite of Oliver Cromwell. From this one man we may learn the character of his sect, the immaculate, people-adoring republicans of the present hour. For the love of liberty, they will kill a king, yet fawn upon a usurper, clothed with a power infinitely less accountable, infinitely more oppressive and tremendous. The crime, then, is not in ‘one proud man’s lording it over the rest,’ but that he should lord it in opposition to our particular interests and prejudices: In the direction of these, he cannot be too high-handed.” (P. 347, 348.)

“ To see the heart of man in that most unfavourable point of view, in which the milk of human kindness is turned to gall and bitterness, he should behold it when elate with a ‘republican triumph.’ It has twice been my lot to smart under the hand of oppression. I have been exposed to the fury both of royal and republican vengeance; and, unless I may be misled by the greater recency of the latter, I am compelled to say, that the first, though bad, was most mitigated by instances of generosity. If it produced the enormities the reader has been made acquainted with, the other was ruthless enough to rejoice at the sight of helpless families, at once reduced to indigence, stripped of their subsistence, driven from their homes, and sent to seek their

bread by toiling in a wilderness. This is no exaggerated picture ; I saw the reality, and felt it too." (P. 417.)

From an author who can write in this truly philosophical manner, it cannot but be instructive to learn in what way persons and things in our own country presented themselves to his perspicacious glance. We on this side of the Atlantic have thought and conversed so long on our Burkes, and Pitts, and Foxes, and on our national character and constitution, that our opinions may be supposed to partake of somewhat of mannerism, if not of party spirit. But how do these topics strike an intelligent foreigner, perfectly familiar with our language and customs, but far removed from our local prejudices, and professing political principles widely different from our own ? The following is his brief estimate of the character of Mr. Fox.

"Many, I am well aware, are partial to Mr. Fox as a statesman. His abilities might have been very great, but he can hardly be called a candid, principled, and virtuous citizen. If, when he became minister, he pursued the same policy that Mr. Pitt had done, it is evident that his opposition to him proceeded from factious and interested motives, under the influence of which, he acted the part of a wild and disorganizing Jacobin. He is said to have been a pleasing companion, and what is called a good natured man, which is generally, by the by, an unprincipled one. Refined virtue is indignant and somewhat austere. Estimating him, however, from his historical fragment of the reign of James II., one would suppose him to have been a humane, just, and generous man." (P. 355.)

Of Mr. Burke, or rather of his memorable book, which is the best comment on his opinions and character, the author makes a few passing, but not superficial, reflections, which we transcribe, not only on account of their intrinsic value, but for the curious circumstances under which they were elicited, and the still more curious circumstance of their coming from the pen of an American and strenuous republican.

"I happened to be at Reading, where Burke's *Reflections* on the French Revolution, with Paine's *Rights of Man*, both of which had just come out, were the general topic of conversation. I had seen neither ; and when they were given me to read, I was apprised of the delight I should receive from the perusal of Paine's pamphlet. As to Burke, I was told it was heavy and tedious, but that it was necessary to condemn myself to a wading through it first, for the sake of better understanding and relishing Paine's, which was in answer to it. I read them ; but, to my great misfortune, and contrary to all expectation, I became so firm an adherent to Burke, that his opponent made not the smallest impression. I have already made confessions which cautious men may start at. But this is worse than all. The stolen Ribbon of Rousseau was nothing to it ; nor, although events have proved me right, is that of any consequence. Many other things have

turned out right too ; but that does not lessen the odium of their early advocates. It is the essence of sound civism to think with one's fellow-citizens; on no account to anticipate them; and I ought to have thought wrong, because it was the fashion. Republican morality, like republican other things, being made by general suffrage, will not always take the trouble to ferret truth from her well; and as it is manufactured *pro re nata*, on the spur of the occasion, it is liable, of course, to gentle fluctuations—but infinitely safer, by the bye, in practice, than that of the old school. I here speak from woeful experience. (P. 375, 376.)

It will be anticipated that a man who thinks thus sensibly and fairly could not see much to admire in the conduct of the French revolution, which it was so much the fashion to panegyrize in his own country at the period when this volume was written. Mr. Jefferson, with his admirers, and his administration, are the theme of many an indignant page in the volume before us. The author's philippics on these topics break out beyond that sober pitch of gentleness in which his sentiments are accustomed to be uttered, and frequently bear an apparent stamp of personal hostility and irritation. Still his anger is evidently honest. He holds in just displeasure the Gallican or Anti-Anglican spirit, which had infected so many of his countrymen, and which was no less opposed to sound policy, than to the charity which should spring out of our natural affinities and common parentage. But let us hear his own apology.

“ I am aware of the offence which may be given by these observations: but I will not now begin to cajole, when I have foregone beyond redemption what might once have been gained by it. Having spoken truth so long, I will persevere to the end; nor, though fully admitting that, by a virtuous use of the government we possess, we may become the most happy people upon earth, am I at all disposed to conceal, that, by the nefarious policy in fashion, we are in a fair way of rendering ourselves the most miserable. One of its fundamental maxims, and, to all appearance, its most favourite one, is, that Britain must be destroyed;—a power which is evidently the world's last hope against the desolating scene of universal slavery:—a country, too, which, in the language of a native American, who tells us he had entertained the common prejudices against her, presents ‘ the most beautiful and perfect model of public and private prosperity, the most magnificent, and, at the same time, most solid fabric of social happiness and national grandeur.’ And yet all this is to be demolished, because, some thirty years ago, we were engaged with her in a contest, which, so far as independence is implicated, appears now to have been a truly ‘ unprofitable one.’ But God forbid that the long-lived malice of Mr. Jefferson should be gratified! And the deprecation is equally extended to his successor, should he unhappily harbour the same pitiable rancour. If these gentlemen, during the war, have had their nerves too rudely shocked by the invader, to be able to recover their propriety,

or to adhere to the assurance given in the declaration of independence, of considering the English as 'friends in peace, and only enemies in war,' they ought to reflect, that it is not strictly patriotic, to risk the ruin of their country, to obtain revenge. Or if they are only un-luckily committed, through a prodigality of stipulation, for the sake of dear Louisiana—God \* send them a good deliverance, or, at least, their country an happy riddance, both of the vendor and vendees.

"That England has long been, and still is, fighting the battle of the civilized world, I hold to be an incontrovertible truth. The observation I know to be trite, but I am not a servile follower in the use of it. So long ago as the year 1797, I was the author of the following sentiment in Mr. Fenno's Gazette: 'As to Great Britain, with all her errors and vices, and little, perhaps, as America may owe her, considering the situation in which she has been fortuitously placed by the dreadful convulsions of Europe, so far from wishing her downfall, I consider her preservation as of real importance to mankind; and have long looked upon her as the barrier betwixt the world and anarchy.'—The sentiment was then in me an original conception; I had never heard it before, if ever it had been uttered. It has unceasingly been among my strongest convictions, with the modification, that she is now our protection from despotism." (P. 425—427.)

We shall present to our readers only one passage more, which is rendered striking by its spirit, and caustic irony. It eloquently ridicules the cant of democracy, in every age and country, so that the reader has only to exchange Genet for Hunt or Cobbett, and Mr. Jefferson's "mouth of labour" for our own radical gibberish of "operatives" and "the useful classes," to render it as pungent in England as in America.

"The enlightened self-interest which prompted Mr. Jefferson to cast an eye upon the presidency, has most edifyingly identified with the interest of the 'mouth of labour,' if not the whole, at least a very essential part, of the public. This *mouth of labour*, by the bye, is one of the fine figures of speech, by means of which this gentleman has been enabled to triumph over the popularity even of Washington; although it is sacrilegiously thought by some, to savour a little of that jargon, which the same Mr. Burke somewhat harshly denominates 'the *patois* of fraud, the cant and gibberish of hypocrisy.' But we, on this side of the water, ought to have more indulgence for a trade growing out of our institutions. As the people give power, and power promotes thrift, the people may certainly be complimented a little: and hence, intolerance towards demagogues may fairly be ranked among the anti-republican tendencies. No censure, therefore, is aimed at one who is the quintessence of good republicanism, and too pure to take a stain though fondling with imperialism. For my own part, I am elated with the opportunity of recording my veneration for a patriot

\* Our author's sentiments would have lost none of their force, and would have gained in their Christianity, if they had been less interlarded with these irreverent interjections.

who has so rapidly advanced the morals of this new world, and whose scrupulous observance of truth pre-eminently entitles him to the motto of *vitam impendere vero*.

"The French revolution then, from the attachment now shown by the Jeffersonians to the absolute despotism that has been produced by it, it is fair to conclude, was less beloved by them for any philanthropic disposition it manifested, than from its being an engine wherewith to assail their adversaries in power; and it was so much the better adapted to this purpose as it was in conflict with Britain, that accursed island, which, in the opinion of all sound Jacobins, ought, long since, to have been sunk in the sea. To declare a neutrality, therefore, with respect to the belligerents, as was done by the administration, what was it but a base dereliction of the cause of republicanism—a most enormous act of ingratitude to those liberty-loving men who had benevolently taken off the head of Louis XVI. our late generous ally and 'protector of the rights of man?' and who, by so doing, had made themselves the undoubted heirs of the immense debt of gratitude we had contracted with the murdered monarch? On the score of this gratitude transferred, can it ever be forgotten, what a racket was made with the citizen Genet? The most enthusiastic homage was too cold to welcome his arrival; and his being the first minister of the infant republic, 'fruit of her throes and first born of her loves,' was dwelt upon as a most endearing circumstance. What hugging and tugging! What addressing and caressing! What mountebanking and chaunting! with liberty-caps and the other wretched trumpery of *sans culotte* foolery! 'Give me an ounce of civet, good apothecary, to sweeten my imagination!' In short, it was evident that the government was, if possible, to be forced from its neutrality; and that nothing less than a common cause with France, a war of extermination with England, and the other monarchies of Europe, would satisfy the men who are now so outrageously pacific as to divest themselves of the means of annoyance and defence, and to place their glory in imitating the shrinking policy of a reptile." (P. 380—382.)

We now lay aside this piece of auto-biography, with our best thanks to the unknown author for the amusement and information he has afforded us. He has spoken some truths, which, though not likely to be very popular among his countrymen, are not on that account the less useful. His candid spirit towards this country deserves our acknowledgments. Happily, circumstances have so greatly changed since his volume was first published that we would hope some of his remarks will soon become obsolete. The despot of Europe is no more; England and France are no longer embattled in arms, and even their policy is, or ought to be, scarcely at variance. The same pacific relation exists between us and our transmarine descendants in the new world. May nothing shake this mutual amity! Let the United States be content with their own peace and prosperity; let them wisely concentrate their union, and extend their commerce, and

promote their rising agriculture and manufactures, without mixing in the affray of European contests, or increasing their already too-widely stretched territories by an ill-advised ambition. If they are ambitious, let their ambition take a nobler range; let them exhibit to Europe a pattern of virtuous dignity and unperturbed peace; let them aspire above the artifices of foreign or intestine faction; let them expend their energies in promoting the morals, and education, and piety of every hamlet in the Union; and, not content even with this, let them stretch northward and westward a friendly hand, not to destroy, or melt away, the pacific aborigines of their territories, but to extend among them the arts of civilized life, and the blessings of that holy religion which their own ancestors carried with them from these happy shores!

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ART. IV.—*Sardanapalus, a Tragedy. The Two Foscari, a Tragedy. Cain, a Mystery.* By Lord Byron. 8vo. Murray. London, 1821.

OF these three performances the two first stand widely separated from the last, which will call for a special consideration. *Sardanapalus* and the *Two Foscari*, distant as they are from each other in their subjects, have one bond of affinity,—they meet at the same point of deterioration,—they are equally feeble and puerile. To say this gives us no pleasure, but, on the contrary, disappointment. No works by the same hand contain so many decorous sentiments, and so little to shock the wise and virtuous. They exhibit, to be sure, some clumsy efforts to be good, and some blundering about holiness and duty; but first attempts are entitled to great allowance, and considering the importance of any indications of improvement in the character of Lord Byron's poetry, we are willing sometimes to accept what he tenders for virtue, though short of the standard of legal currency.

Whimsical as it may be to receive lectures on social morality from the mouth of the effeminate King of Assyria, we are content to take upon any terms what is good in this way from Lord Byron, protesting only against the probable union of such manners as history attributes to *Sardanapalus*, with such dispositions as are in this tragedy assigned to him by the poet. It is the regular tendency of a long course of vicious excess and effeminate self-indulgence, to harden the heart; and we take upon ourselves to say, that nothing is less common than for that commiserating philanthropy, which the poet has made the distinguish-



ing feature of his voluptuous hero, to be found the inhabitant of a bosom abandoned to the pleasures of sense, and mere animal gratification. If the character of Sardanapalus had a real historical right to these attributes, we could have imputed no blame to the author for exhibiting him such as he found him. There are men, indeed, of whom Lord Byron may entertain but a contemptuous opinion, who would feel it a duty to society to abstain from the representation of characters in poetry, whether feigned or real, by which vice, in alliance with virtue, and borrowing a portion of its lustre, might appear with an attractiveness foreign to its nature. But we will submit it to our reflecting readers to say, whether the best interests of society are not betrayed by him, who incorporates in a character of his own creation such an artificial mixture of sensuality and sentiment, selfishness and humanity, amiableness of feeling and profligacy of conduct, as is calculated to confound the authentic distinctions between vice and virtue, and unsettle the standard of moral worth. It is not in the nature or competency of a man of pleasure, as that phrase is understood by voluptuaries, to love his neighbour, or delight in the diffusion of happiness; and such being the new character bestowed upon the royal debauchee whom our author has chosen for his theme, we must pronounce it an ill-conceived and unnatural combination in itself; while we complain of its tendency to remove from the conduct of the sensualist a considerable part of the odium in which it ought to stand with the sound portion of the community. History exhibits Sardanapalus as sunk in vice of the most grovelling description; it presents him, indeed, to us in the last great scene of his life, as repelling his enemies with a desperate resolution; and at length destroying himself, and all that was held by him as next in value to himself, the instruments of his sensuality, and the whole stock of his voluptuous commerce, in the flames, to disappoint the avidity of his conquerors; but it nowhere attributes to him that amiable solicitude for the happiness of his subjects, those compassionate sentiments, and affectionate sympathies, with which the poet has varnished over his effeminate prostitution of manners. With great submission to Lord Byron, we must declare for our own parts, that we have never known a man devoted to his own appetites, that was not at the same time a zealot in the service of the devil, gratuitously engaged to multiply his subjects, and extend his conquests. We will refer his lordship to his own experience, to determine whether this remark is founded in prejudice, or correct observation.

Dissatisfied, however, as we feel with the incongruities of Sardanapalus's character, we are obliged to the poet for the good things of which he has made him the vehicle. From the senti-

mental ruffians, and drivelling outlaws, with whom he has so long wearied us, we are glad to find an asylum, even in the imperial style of *Sardanapalus*. It is true we find ourselves in company with the worshippers of Baal, not certainly in an atmosphere of much spiritual purity; but, as already intimated, we must not be very scrupulous about means, where the end of Lord Byron's poetry is not decidedly hostile to human happiness. If it must be either Jupiter, Mahomet, Baal, or Lucifer, let us have the one whom it pleases the fancy of the poet to make the most respectable. We are constrained to admit, in justice to the noble author, with respect to these latest productions of his pen, that something like decorum of manners, as far as mere manners are concerned, is sustained throughout, from the deified *Sardanapalus* to the reputed enemy of mankind; which last personage, if he at all answers to the character in which he is introduced to us in the last of these poems, appears to have been somewhat underrated, being, upon the whole, a very civil converser; and though a little free in his censures, not altogether without gravity and good-breeding in his vindication of himself. There may be many worthy persons who would receive with distrust, if not distaste, even a lecture of morality in such a school—who would dread these

“*Danaos et dona ferentes* ;”

but then they may not, perhaps, have dwelt so long on Lord Byron's other characters, as we have been compelled to do in the discharge of our critical duty. Satan himself is quite decent in comparison of some of his former heroes.

To show that we are serious in what we have said of the good sentiments of *Sardanapalus*, we will exhibit him to our readers in one of his moralizing veins, which occurs on a very proper occasion,—when his wife, whom he had deserted (an action at which Lord Byron is peculiarly indignant), pays him a visit in his distress, after a long and sad separation. The dignity and wrongs of Zarina, who would fain have remained with her ruined husband to share his last sufferings, and who, on being affectionately torn from him by her brother, sinks into a swoon from agitation, produce the following sentimental flourish from the unhappy prince:—

*Sard.* Go then. If e'er we meet again, perhaps  
I may be worthier of you—and, if not,  
Remember that my faults, though not atoned for,  
Are ended. Yet, I dread thy nature will  
Grieve more above the blighted name and ashes  
Which once were mightiest in Assyria—than——  
But I grow womanish again, and must not ;  
I must learn sternness now. My sins have all  
Been of the softer order—hide thy tears—

I do not bid thee *not* to shed them—'twere  
Easier to stop Euphrates at its source  
Than one tear of a true and tender heart—  
But let me not behold them; they unman me  
Here when I had remann'd myself. My brother,  
Lead her away.

Zar. Oh, God! I never shall  
Behold him more!

Salem. (*striving to conduct her*). Nay, sister, I must be obey'd.

Zar. I must remain—away! you shall not hold me.

What, shall he die alone?—I live alone?

Salem. He shall *not* die alone; but lonely you  
Have lived for years.

Zar. That's false! I knew *he* lived,  
And lived upon his image—let me go!

Salem. (*conducting her off the stage*). Nay, then, I must use  
some fraternal force,

Which you will pardon.

Zar. Never. Help me! Oh!  
Sardanapalus, wilt thou thus behold me  
Torn from thee?

Salem. Nay—then all is lost again,  
If that this moment is not gain'd.

Zar. My brain turns—  
My eyes fail—where is he? [*She faints.*]

Sard. (*advancing*). No—set her down—  
She's dead—and you have slain her.

Salem. 'Tis the mere  
Faintness of o'er-wrought passion: in the air  
She will recover. Pray, keep back.—[*Aside.*] I must  
Avail myself of this sole moment to  
Bear her to where her children are embark'd,  
I' the royal galley on the river. [*Salem. bears her off.*]

Sard. (*solus*). This, too—  
And this too must I suffer—I, who never  
Inflicted purposely on human hearts  
A voluntary pang! But that is false—  
She loved me, and I loved her. Fatal passion!  
Why dost thou not expire *at once* in hearts  
Which thou hast lighted up at once? Zarina!  
I must pay dearly for the desolation  
Now brought upon thee. Had I never loved  
But thee, I should have been an unopposed  
Monarch of honouring nations. To what gulfs  
A single deviation from the track  
Of human duties leads even those who claim  
The homage of mankind as their born due,  
And find it, till they forfeit it themselves!" (P. 126—128.)

The last sentence, beginning with "to what gulfs," is full of  
the soundest sense, and worthy of a wiser man than Sardanapalus. We give the noble writer full credit for it, and lament that

it has only occurred in a production, the general dullness of which must necessarily soon absorb it in its own oblivion. With these respectable passages in it, we feel an unwillingness to acknowledge *Sardanapalus* to be the weakest of Lord Byron's performances; but it is certainly so, there being nothing in it to keep it from putrefaction, but two or three sparks of vitality, such as we have above exhibited in support of our remarks. The morality, indeed, with which the play is, for the most part, interspersed, is not of a good keeping kind; it savours more of indulgence than discipline, of concession than controul, of liberty than sacrifice. That which is drawn from the proper sources, we are sure would be found to answer better the purposes of poetry. As our author has begun to deal in the article, why content himself, while the genuine staple lies before him, with the mockeries of a spurious manufacture. The lofty muse requires it to be of a fine texture, to furnish out the wardrobe of her chaste decorations. Tragedy, that "teacher best of moral prudence," must be appropriately adorned. That which suits her state, is not the puny ethics of Lord Byron's effeminate hero, but the severest maxims by which virtue can be illustrated; the highest and most spiritual standard to which the soul can be exalted. Perhaps, in the whole compass of ancient history, a character less fitted for the hero of the tragic drama could scarcely be found. Till the closing scene of his existence there is nothing in his mind or fortunes to awaken the slightest interest or solicitude concerning him; and the reader comes to the catastrophe with an apathy not removed by the extravagance of desperation in which it terminates. What the author attributes of good to the temperament of the monarch, is, perhaps, scarcely more than enough to neutralize his character, and to render him an object of indifference. The concluding event possesses nothing of collateral distress, or circumstantial pathos. It creates no intensity of feeling, nor in any strong degree perturbs the affections. Its strongest incidents produce no terror. The conflagration which consumes the monarch, his mistresses, and his treasures, has little more effect upon the nerves, than a common bon-fire; it kindles no emotions. It is not by a sudden and concluding effort of magnanimity, that a character can command our sympathies, where there has been nothing in it to interest us during the course of its development. Those changes of fortune, which constitute what is called the *peripetia* of the higher tragedy, must be changes in the fortunes of great persons. The events and the characters must be parallel. Such was the tone and elevation of the Greek tragedy, which treated

"Of fate, and chance, and change in human life,  
High actions and high passions best describing."

There must be the καλὰ ἔργα or high actions to invest a

character with that sort of atmosphere of excitement, in which none can breathe without emotion: without these the greatest incidents which the revolutions of fortune can produce must be defective in pathos. All should be in proportion, and every thing sufficient in strength and quality to sustain expectation and suspense from the beginning to the end. In the physical world, a storm has but half its "dread magnificence," unless the scene in which it rages corresponds with its fierceness, and is adapted to the display of its effects;—as where the ocean responds to it, or the mountain pine attests its vengeance: so if the great vicissitudes with which the drama is conversant, are to shake the bosom with alternate horrors, and the fearful agitations of change and disaster, not only must the moral element be convulsed throughout, but the tempest, to be tragically affecting, must light upon the glittering elevations of human character, and scatter in the dust the glories of real greatness.

With respect to the construction of the play of *Sardanapalus*, the author is not to be held responsible for the want of incident. He could only draw his materials from history; but he is still responsible for the choice of his subject. He does not assert the merit of having adhered strictly to the unities of the drama, if there be merit in such conformity; but he talks in his preface with some complacency, of his having *approached* the "unities,"—a compromise not very intelligible. As there is neither mystery nor unravelment in the plot, it was not easy to violate the unity of action. The sottish effeminacy of a prince that waits in passive expectation the insurrection of the two most powerful of his subjects, revolting upon no other principle, than to liberate their country from the disgrace of being governed by so unworthy a ruler, without personal motive to stir the tumultuous energy of the passions, affords no occasion for the demonstration of skill in disposing the events in a continuity of action. Without plot, no fault can be found with the management of the fable; without rudder or rigging, no error can be committed in the navigation. With respect to the *unity of time*, the author seems to us to have sinned against it in the only way in which it could be sinned against. He has not erred by supposing a succession of events impossible to have happened within the compass of time which may be imagined to have been taken up in the representation; but he has erred in allotting a period of time for the successive transactions, involving the catastrophe of the play, within which it was impossible for them to be completed. "The necessity," Dr. Johnson well remarks in his preface to Shakspeare, "of observing the unity of time, arises from the supposed necessity of making the drama credible. The critics hold it impossible that an action of months or years

can be believed to pass in three hours. The mind revolts from evident falsehood, and fiction loses its force when it departs from the resemblance of reality." But the same sagacious critic truly denies "that any representation is mistaken for reality, that any dramatic fable in its materiality was ever credible, or, for a single moment was ever credited." To this reasoning we perfectly assent, and where a tragedy is not written for representation, as from appearances we may presume to be the case in this instance, it possesses additional cogency. But the objection is of another sort, where the time in which the drama itself supposes the events to have happened, is such as can by no possible effort of imagination be made to square with their accomplishment. The piece before us has aimed at satisfying what is called the unity of time, by a violent compression of the incidents of the story into the compass of a day, in contempt of history and probability.

The great fault that we find with this poem is simply this,—that it is not poetry. It is only in name any thing but the dullest prose. To pick out passages for the purpose of verifying this remark, can be to us no agreeable task; and if we produce one or two for our own justification, we will not do it without freely and cheerfully acknowledging that the poetical character of this writer is so deservedly high as to afford the great expence which his reputation has incurred by the volume before us. It is not a little singular that Lord Byron, who has, if we mistake not, expressed all due contempt for that absurd ambition of simplicity which has sunk poetry below the standard of conversation, should, on this occasion, have retrograded into the flattest province of prose, and outstripped all competition in the race of deterioration. We have always, indeed, been presumptuous enough to doubt the correctness of his lordship's poetical ear. He is deficient in delicacy of perception, and fineness of tact. Some conceit about varying the cadence, and dissipating the monotony of blank verse, has induced him so to fritter and torment it, so to break up its continuity, by the interruptions and subdivisions of the dialogue, that if, metrically and mechanically speaking, it may be denominated verse, it is absolutely devoid of all pretensions to rhythm, or that stately modulation which belongs to the proper structure of this solemn measure. His lordship has a singular predilection for a pronoun, or other familiar monosyllable, at the end of his line; and particularly the capital I is so frequently found in that place, that it seems as if its columnal shape recommended it as a proper terminus. Take a specimen, which we find on a casual opening of the book. An affray takes place between Salamenes and Arbaces in the palace, and in the monarch's presence.

"Sard. In my very palace!  
What hinders me from cleaving you in twain,  
Audacious brawlers?

Bel. Sire, your justice.

Salem. Or—

Your weakness.

Sard. (*raising the sword*). How?

Sal. Strike! So the blow's repeated

Upon yon traitor—whom you spare a moment,  
I trust, for torture—I'm content.

Sard. What—him?

Who dares assail Arbaces?

Sal. I!

Sard. Indeed!

Prince, you forget yourself. Upon what warrant?

Sal. (*shewing the signet*). Thine.

Arb. (*confused*). The king's!

Sal. Yes! and let the king confirm it.

Sard. I parted not from this for such a purpose.

Sal. You parted with it for your safety—I

Employ'd it for the best. Pronounce in person.

Here I am but your slave—a moment past

I was your representative.

Sard. Then sheathe

Your swords.

[*Arbaces and Salemenes return their swords to the scabbards.*]

• Sal. Mine's sheathed: I pray you sheath *not* yours

'Tis the sole scepter left you now with safety.

Sard. A heavy one; the hilt, too, hurts my hand.

(*To a Guard.*) Here, fellow, take thy weapon back. Well, sirs,  
What doth this mean?

Bel. The prince must answer that.

Sal. Truth upon my part, treason upon theirs.

Sard. Treason—Arbaces! treachery and Beleses!

That were an union I will not believe." (P. 53—55.)

What does the reader think of the above lines, as exhibiting the dialogue of men with their swords drawn upon each other? Again we open the book at hazard, and we find the respectable Salemenes thus describing the retreat of Semiramis from India:

"Sal. Wherefore not?

Semiramis—a woman only—led

These our Assyrians to the solar shores

Of Ganges.

Sard. 'Tis most true. And *how* return'd?

Sal. Why, like a *man*—a hero; baffled, but  
Not vanquish'd. With but twenty guards, she made  
Good her retreat to Bactria.

Sard. And how many

Left she behind in India to the vultures?

Sal. Our annals say not." (P. 14, 15.)

The dialogue between two conspirators, high in office, against the greatest potentate of the earth, till it is interrupted on the sudden by an unexpected message from the king, proceeds in the following manner. Arbaces has been expectorating some indignant nothings about a soldier's honour; and then observes of Sardanapalus,

*Arb.* Methought he look'd like Nimrod as he spoke,  
Ever as the proud imperial statue stands  
Looking the monarch of the kings around it,  
And sways, while they but ornament, the temple.

*Bel.* I told you that you had too much despised him,  
And that there was some royalty within him—  
What then? he is the nobler foe.

*Arb.* But we  
The meaner:—Would he had not spared us!

*Bel.* So—  
Wouldst thou be sacrificed thus readily?

*Arb.* No—but it had been better to have died  
Than live ungrateful.

*Bel.* Oh, the souls of some men  
Thou wouldst digest what some call treason, and  
Fools treachery—and, behold, upon the sudden,  
Because for something or for nothing, this  
Rash reveller steps, ostentatiously,  
'Twixt thee and Salmecenes, thou art turn'd  
Into—what shall I say?—Sardanapalus!  
I know no name more ignominious.

*Arb.* But  
An hour ago, who dared to term me such  
Had held his life but lightly—as it is,  
I must forgive you, even as he forgave us—  
Semiramis herself would not have done it.

*Bel.* No—the queen liked no sharers of the kingdom,  
Not even a husband.

*Arb.* I must serve him truly——

*Bel.* And humbly?

*Arb.* No, sir, proudly—being honest.  
I shall be nearer thrones than you to heaven;  
And if not quite so haughty, yet more lofty.  
You may do your own deeming—you have codes,  
And mysteries, and corollaries of  
Right and wrong, which I lack for my direction,  
And must pursue but what a plain heart teaches.  
And now you know me.

*Bel.* Have you finish'd?

*Arb.* Yes—  
With you.

*Bel.* And would, perhaps, betray as well  
As quit me?

*Arb.* That's a sacerdotal thought,  
And not a soldier's.



*Bel.* Be it what you will—  
 Truce with these wranglings, and but hear me.  
*Arb.* No—  
 There is more peril in your subtle spirit  
 Than in a phalanx.  
*Bel.* If it must be so—  
 I'll on alone.  
*Arb.* Alone!  
*Bel.* Thrones hold but one.  
*Arb.* But this is ill'd.  
*Bel.* With worse than vacancy—  
 A despised monarch. Look to it, Arbaces:  
 I have still aided, cherish'd, loved, and urged you;  
 Was willing even to serve you, in the hope  
 To serve and save Assyria. Heaven itself  
 Seem'd to consent, and all events were friendly,  
 Even to the last, till that your spirit shrunk  
 Into a shallow softness; but now, rather  
 Than see my country languish, I will be  
 Her saviour or the victim of her tyrant,  
 Or one or both, for sometimes both are one;  
 And, if I win, Arbaces is my servant.  
*Arb.* Your servant!  
*Bel.* Why not? better than be slave,  
 The pardon'd slave of *she* Sardanapalus.  
*Enter PANIA.*  
*Pan.* My lords, I bear an order from the king.  
*Arb.* It is obey'd ere spoken.  
*Bel.* Notwithstanding,  
 Let's hear it.  
*Pan.* Forthwith, on this very night,  
 Repair to your respective satrapies  
 Of Babylon and Media.  
*Bel.* With our troops!  
*Pan.* My order is unto the satraps and  
 Their household train.  
*Arb.* But—  
*Bel.* It must be obey'd;  
 Say, we depart.  
*Pan.* My order is to see you  
 Depart, and not to bear your answer.  
*Bel.* (*aside*). Ay!  
 Well, sir, we will accompany you hence.  
*Pan.* I will retire to marshal forth the guard  
 Of honour which befits your rank, and wait  
 Your leisure, so that it the hour exceed not." (P. 64—68.)

This poet has a most merciless habit of cutting in twain the sense by the division of his lines. Thus the preposition frequently ends a line, the next beginning with the noun it governs;

and the same divorce between the adjective and substantive is perpetually occurring; never was syntax made obsequious to the wants of a rhythm that deserved so little the sacrifice.

“ And can the sun so rise,  
So bright, so rolling back the clouds into  
Vapours, &c.”

“ And blends itself into the soul until  
Sunrise——.”

“ But on  
Condition.”

“ May still hold out against  
Their present force—— ”

“ About  
Some twenty stadii.——”

“ My country's custom to  
Make a libation.”

“ When we know  
All that can come, and how to meet it, our  
Resolves, if firm, may merit a more noble  
Word, &c.——”

The copulative ‘and’ often ends a line, and even words of still less poetical dignity, as ‘if,’ ‘no,’ ‘such,’ ‘which,’ ‘with,’ ‘ay,’ ‘both,’ ‘is,’ ‘his,’ ‘’tis,’ ‘has,’ which, it is not too much to say, are such favourites with this poet, as to be stationed in the place where they must necessarily rest upon the ear, and acquire distinction from their very situation. But, if we were to detail all our grounds of objection to the structure and composition of Lord Byron’s verse, we should be led in succession to every rule which the ear of harmony has established, and every article in which just modulation is capable of being violated. Suffice it to say, that scarcely any Poet of the modern school of desultory and discordant prosody has sheltered, under the pretext of metrical freedom, a more radical want of those constituents, whatever they are, which create the capacity for the charms of rhythmic arrangement.

The Tragedy of the “Two Foscari” is founded upon facts of which the following is a concise account. The Doge, Francis Foscari, from the beginning to the middle of the fifteenth century, had been the promoter of wars which had conducted Venice to great glory, and brought many new territories within her sovereignty. This character of his government had exposed it to some obloquy, and induced him more than once to declare his wish to abdicate his dignity. Such, however, was the attachment of the council to his person and administration, that they exacted an oath from him never to lay down his high office. His great distinction was a firmness of soul, and an extravagant devotion to his country, which qualities were put to the severest trials to-

wards the close of his long life, after a rule of more than thirty years' duration.

James Foscari, the son of Francis Foscari, the reigning Doge, was in the year 1445 accused of having received presents from some foreign princes, particularly of the Duke of Milan, which was a crime against the state. It was the policy of the Council of Ten to punish this delinquent without regard to his rank. Being brought before his judges in the presence of the Doge, who considered it imperiously his duty to preside, and there interrogated, tortured, and declared guilty, he heard the sentence of the council from the mouth of his father, which condemned him to perpetual banishment. It happened that, after five years' exile at Trevisa, one of the chiefs of the Council of Ten having been assassinated, the suspicion fell upon James Foscari, as one of his domestics had been seen, at the time of the murder, at Venice. His servant was arrested and put to the torture; but no confession could be forced from him. His master was afterwards brought from his place of banishment, and subjected to the same tests. He supported his torments with immovable firmness, throughout protesting his innocence; and these experiments being found of no avail, he was banished to Canea, a maritime town of Candia. From this place he made incessant applications by letters to his friends at Venice, to procure for him a mitigation of his punishment; but in vain. At length, in the extremity of his grief, he wrote to the Duke of Milan to interpose his good offices; which act was an infraction of a positive law of the state. The person to whom the letter was intrusted, fearful of being involved in the crime, laid it before the tribunal at Venice; unless another account of the matter be more worthy of credit, which represents the letter to have fallen into the hands of a person appointed to watch the motions of the unhappy exile. A galley was forthwith sent to bring the miserable man to the prison of Venice. After a terrible bastinado, he was for the third time placed under the hands of the tormentors, without the ordinary excuse for the application of the torture, since the act of which he was accused was incontestable. When in the intervals of his agony he was interrogated as to his motives, he avowed his having written the letter as the only means of procuring himself to be transported to his native country, where he might once more see, at whatever risk, his father, his mother, his wife, and his children. His sentence of exile was now confirmed, and the conditions of it rendered still more rigorous. He was suffered, however, to take leave of his family; but the tender mercies of the Council were cruel, for the interview was not permitted to be private; the unhappy family were constrained to expose their grief and distress to public observation in the saloon

of the palace. The behaviour of the father on this occasion was preternaturally severe, not, as it should seem, from want of paternal affection, but from an inflexible spirit of patriotic devotion. When the son threw himself upon his knees, and stretched out his dislocated hands towards his father, to solicit his mediation with the senate, the stern, but unhappy parent, is represented to have answered, "No, my son; respect your sentence, and obey without a murmur." At which words he separated himself from the youth, who was forthwith re-embarked for Candia. Some time after this decree, the real author of the assassination was discovered; but, before any reparation of the injury could be made to the sufferer, he fell a victim to the rigours of incarceration.

The author of these calamities, by which the house of Foscari was overwhelmed, was James Loredan, the descendant of a family, between which, and that of Foscari, there had long existed an unappeasable hostility. The father and uncle of James Loredan, the constant opposers of Francis Foscari, had suddenly died, and their departure happening at a time when their measures had become extremely embarrassing to the old Doge, a suspicion very injurious to his character was endeavoured to be raised by his enemies, and easily found place in the irritated and revengeful mind of James Loredan. He is said to have put down the Doge as his debtor on one side of his ledger, leaving the opposite page blank, for the insertion of the different items of retaliation, until the account of injury should be balanced between them. After the last banishment of his son, the father's mind seems to have been for some time shaken by his misfortunes. His indisposition and absence from the Council gave James Loredan an opportunity of carrying into effect his plans for his deposition; and, after a series of practices and intrigues, he succeeded in persuading the Council to depose the Doge by a formal decree, after some attempts had in vain been made to induce him to make a voluntary resignation. Thus, after having held the sovereignty thirty years, and after having lived through the inhuman usage of his son, which has been recounted, the poor old Doge was dismissed from the palace. It is related that the unhappy old man supported himself with his wonted courage till the bell of St. Mark announced to Venice the appointment of his successor. At this afflicting sound his heart gave way; he retired to his chamber, and died on the ensuing morning.

Such is the story of the Two Foscari, as we find it in the extract furnished by Lord Byron in his appendix to his tragedy, from the history of the Republic of Venice, by P. Daru of the French Academy; and of which he has added, in the same place, another account from the history of the Italian Republics

of the middle age, by Sismondi, varying from the first in some circumstantial particulars.

The facts of the above story are, without doubt, peculiarly touching, but we question whether they supply the proper materials for tragedy. One thing is clear, that if Lord Byron feels any attachment to the unities which he professes a desire to 'approach,' he has chosen his subject ill. 'Unity of action,' which might perhaps with more fitness of phrase be called 'continuity of action,' is violated in the very choice of the subject, where that subject expands into two distinct successive narratives, each having its hero, and separate catastrophe: and such is undoubtedly the case in this drama of the "Two Foscari." We apprehend it to be a simple and obvious rule, appertaining to this species of composition, that it should have but one principal subject, composed of a beginning, middle, and end, to which every interest and every incident should be subordinate; and we can scarcely conceive a more extravagant departure from this sensible limitation, than that which is exhibited in the instance before us, in which, after the principal interest is at an end, the piece throws out a sort of excrescence; or new germination, with an imbecile and superfluous effort. After the son is dead and disposed of, the piece proceeds with the corollary of the father's deposition, forming a separate and distinct story, and scarcely to be said to have any necessary connection with the account which precedes it.

The "Two Foscari," besides its defect of unity of action, is very deficient in dramatic requisites. To scenic effect it makes no pretensions. Respecting his competency to compose a tragedy that is to be acted, Lord Byron has practically decided the public judgment; which, but for his unsuccessful attempts, might have regretted his neglect of the tragic muse. The transactions on which the play is founded have very little capability. Of suffering there is enough; but those transitions of fortune, those trials of the heart, those conflicts of passion, which transmit their impressions to the bosoms of the spectator or the reader, and keep the sympathies in constant vibration, are not produced by the incidents of this calamitous tale. Judicial torture inflicted on a son with all its aggravations, in the presence of a father, who determines as the administrator of the states' decrees to sacrifice his affections, and even to suppress his emotions, forms the central and commanding interest of the play; and yet this predominant part can never be represented: the stern attitude of the parent triumphing over struggling nature, must be notified only through the medium of description; as it is evidently forbidden by the laws and constitution of the drama, founded upon humanity and right sentiment, to display before the eyes of the

spectator a detailed exhibition of bodily torture. The ancient tragedy was principally concerned in the development of some great event, influencing the fortunes of a dynasty, or involving the fate of a nation. Exalted personages, the sport of a huckless destiny, hurled by the gods, or something above the gods, from the pinnacle of their greatness to the depths of wretchedness, gave to the representation a dark and gigantic interest, hurrying the mind irresistibly on through the widest extremes of mortal condition, and surprising the soul with fearful examples of instability in the things on which man relies with the proudest confidence. The modern drama, with more artificial contrivance and intricacy of plot, shakes the mind with quicker alternations of feeling, sustaining and perpetuating its emotions by the anxiety of suspense, the flutter of expectation, and the shock of discovery: and in both of these methods the passions are posterior to the events, being the effects rather than the causes of the vicissitudes of fortune. There is also another species of drama, which is entirely of modern date, in which the incidents are framed in subserviency to the display of some one master passion, in its unmixed and specific operation, urging on the catastrophe by its own imperious agency, and leading rather than following the events of the story. This ethical delineation of a solitary passion, drawing its nutriment from the recesses of the heart, rather than from the transactions of the scenes in which it is displayed, has placed the name of Joanna Baillie deservedly high among the original writers of our own time: who, to fix the mind of the reader (for her plays are only for the closet) more intensely on the dreadful phenomena of the victorious passion, has been sparing of incident, further than might be necessary to carry such passion to its accomplishment, and to give it its practical display.

In the exhibition even of those transient passions or affections, such as terror, anger, joy, or grief, Lord Byron has not, in our judgment, the talent of a master-genius; but in respect to the more prominent passions, such as love, hatred, jealousy, and revenge, which occupy and engross the soul,—which condemn it to lasting inquietude, and determine it to fatal purposes, and which require to be kept singly in view, from their elementary beginnings through all the stages of their increase, from the first spark that sets the bosom on fire, to the conflagration that desolates the scene of its fury, he is singularly defective. His great excellence lies in the picturesque part of poetry;—in a luxuriant display of sensible forms, and a tonic description of natural scenery. To the sentiments that float on the surface of sensibility, Lord Byron has occasional pretensions; but, with the deep and central pathos of the passions, his bosom holds no communion.

The elder Foscari is painted as a person of weak intellects, in spite of all the pains in the world to give an ascendancy to his character. There is nothing either in the mental constitution of the man, or of excitement from without, to account for his unnatural composure during the agonies of his tortured son. The poet seems indeed to contemplate a character far distant from apathy; but his own defect of energy appears in every personage he represents, and we scarcely know the instance where occurrences so distressing have lost so much of their power of affecting us, by the dulness and coldness of the medium through which they have been conveyed. After the son has been cruelly lacerated by torture for the third time, and while he lies in one of the dungeons of the city, Marina, his wife, has an interview with his father, the aged Doge, whom she endeavours to persuade to interest himself to procure leave for her to accompany her husband to his place of exile. As soon as the decree of the Council for the final banishment of his son has been notified to the Doge, the dialogue between the father and daughter-in-law proceeds as follows:—

*Mar.* Are you content?

*Doge.* I am what you behold.

*Mar.* And that's a mystery.

*Doge.* All things are so to mortals; who can read them  
Save he who made? or, if they can, the few  
And gifted spirits, who have studied long  
That loathsome volume—man, and pored upon  
Those black and bloody leaves his heart and brain,  
But learn a magic which recoils upon  
The adept who pursues it: all the sins  
We find in others, nature made our own;  
All our advantages are those of fortune;  
Birth, wealth, health, beauty, are her accidents,  
And when we cry out against Fate, 'twere well  
We should remember Fortune can take nought.  
Save what she gave—the rest was nakedness,  
And lusts, and appetites, and vanities,  
The universal heritage, to battle  
With us we may, and least in humblest stations,  
Where hunger swallows all in one low want,  
And the original ordinance, that man  
Must sweat for his poor pittance, keeps all passions  
Aloof, save fear of famine! All is low,  
And false, and hollow—clay from first to last,  
The prince's urn no less than potter's vessel.  
Our fame is in men's breath, our lives upon  
Less than their breath; our duration upon days,  
Our days on seasons; our whole being on  
Something which is not us!—So, we are slaves

The greatest as the meanest—nothing rests  
 Upon our will; the will itself no less  
 Depends upon a straw than on a storm;  
 And when we think we lead, we are most led,  
 And still towards death, a thing which comes as much  
 Without our act or choice, as birth, so that  
 Methinks we must have sinn'd in some old world,  
 And *this* is hell: the best is, that it is not  
 Eternal.

*Mar.* These are things we cannot judge  
 On earth.

*Doge.* And how then shall we judge each other,  
 Who are all earth, and I, who am call'd upon  
 To judge my son? I have administer'd  
 My country faithfully—victoriously—  
 I dare them to the proof, the *chart* of what  
 She was and is: my reign has doubled realms;  
 And, in reward, the gratitude of Venice  
 Has left, or is about to leave, *me* single.

*Mar.* And Foscari? I do not think of such things,  
 So I be left with him.

*Doge.* You shall be so;  
 Thus much they cannot well deny.

*Mar.* And if  
 They should, I will fly with him.

*Doge.* That can ne'er be.  
 And whither would you fly?

*Mar.* I know not, reckon not—  
 To Syria, Egypt, to the Ottoman—  
 Any where, where we might respire unfetter'd,  
 And live nor girt by spies, nor liable  
 To edicts of inquisitors of state.

*Doge.* What, wouldst thou have a renegade for husband,  
 And turn him into traitor?

*Mar.* He is none!  
 The country is the traitress, which thrusts forth  
 Her best and bravest from her. Tyranny  
 Is far the worst of treasons. Dost thou deem  
 None rebels except subjects? The prince who  
 Neglects or violates his trust is more  
 A brigand than the robber-chief.

*Doge.* I cannot  
 Charge me with such a breach of faith.

*Mar.* No; thou  
 Observ'st, obey'st, such laws as make old Draco's  
 A code of mercy by comparison." (P. 223—225.)

The above is an average specimen of the character and quality  
 of this languid performance. A more prating attempt at mora-  
 lizing, more sententious drivelling, than that which the poet has



put into the mouth of the Old Doge, never brought reproach upon the proverbial garrulity of grey hairs. That nature has given to poor human beings "lusts, appetites, and vanities—the universal heritage, *to battle with as we may*," seems to be a reflection upon man's condition so little to belong to the dramatic character of the Doge, and so little suggested by the situation in which he is placed, that it looks very much as if the author had made him the promulgator of his own special views of God's appointments. We consider, with this writer's leave, that we are not left to battle with these gross propensities of our nature *as we may*, but that we may engage with a good ally on our side *if we will*.

The incident of James Foscari's writing his name on the wall of his dungeon, and the soliloquy accompanying the act, are in the poorest style of common place; but it is like every other conception in the piece,—of a character singularly below the tragic standard. This soliloquy is interrupted by the sudden entrance of Marina, the wife of the unhappy prisoner, who holds with him an insufferably dull and tedious talk till the miserable man thus tranquilly terminates it by saying, "Let us address us then, since so it must be, to our departure." A most lamentably deficient scene then takes place in the dungeon between James Foscari and Marina, and Loredano, the author of their misfortunes; by the perusal of which, if the reader is not convinced of this poet's total incompetency to the task of dramatic composition, he must be a man who never need go beyond sixpence in purchasing intellectual gratification. We do not exactly know what Venetian senators might be in the fifteenth century; they were doubtless, however, much addicted to torturing and incarcerating state offenders; but if their style of conversation was no better than it appears in the language in which this poet has dressed the dialogue of this play, we should deem it not the least of their inflictions to be compulsorily engaged in talk with any of them for an hour. One of these "potent, grave, and reverend seniors," thus concludes a long discussion with Loredano, in which he prosingly declares his disapprobation of his measures against the family of the Doge.

"*Barb.* And not less, I must needs think, for the sake  
Of humbling me for my vain opposition.  
You are ingenious, Loredano, in  
Your modes of vengeance, nay, poetical,  
A very Ovid in the art of *hating*;  
'Tis thus (although a secondary object,  
Yet hate has microscopic eyes), to you  
I owe, by way of foil to the more zealous,  
This undesired association in  
Your Giunta's duties." (P. 286.)

The insipidity of this dialogue is not much relieved by Lordano's animated mode of cursing his companion, (*aside*) "Now the rich man's hell-fire upon your tongue." We could exhibit a great deal more, if we were so minded, to establish the propriety of our observations on this play; but we refer to any man of decent sense in the country, who has been able to get through a few pages of either of the plays we have been considering, for our vindication. We will add only, by way of concluding remark, that, in these pieces, there occur many expressions, so trite as to have become decided vulgarisms, which we are surprised to find in a production of Lord Byron's; such as "though last not least,"—"with one foot in the grave;" and many others of like threadbare familiarity. In a word, it would have been wise in his Lordship to have followed the example of the discreet author of *Don Juan*, by concealing his name. There are passages, both in the *Sardanapalus* and the *Foscari*, so bordering upon decency, and so near being absolutely moral, as to have kept the real author for ever above the reach of suspicion.

From the frigid performance of the two *Foscari*, Lord Byron rises with unwasted energy to works of a stronger character. His accumulated vigour appears to require expenditure; and conceiving Mr. Southey to have made a personal attack upon him, in his preface to his poem on the *Vision of Judgment*, he steps a little out of his way to give the devoted object of his vengeance what probably his Lordship and his friends may call a good roasting. His Lordship, however, is not insensible to the value of making an additional ally or two before he enters upon this spirited warfare. In the same volume, in which this note is contained, there is also a dedication to Sir Walter Scott, who, we trust, will take an early opportunity of telling the world that he has not, as we have heard it surmised, graciously accepted the offering, and approved of the performance. He has also, our readers will judge with what address, introduced his hostile note with a compliment to Lady Morgan, whose publication upon Italy he calls a "fearless and excellent work." What Lady Morgan had to fear, it is somewhat difficult to imagine, unless it was the want of purchasers or readers. This lady must excite fear in others before she can have any reason to fear for herself. Her *imbelle telum* scarcely rings upon the shield of the adversary. Her work is harmless; and that must be a Government too weak to deserve support which could be hurt or irritated by such an inconceivably nonsensical performance. After this eulogy, passed upon it by our poet, he seems to us to have the most reason of any body to be afraid of its circulation; he has made a foolish compromise between his credit and his gallantry. In our minds,

too, his Lordship annexes far too much importance to the right of original property in the expression of "Rome of the Ocean." He says he had written his work, called the "Two Foscari," before he saw Lady Morgan's Italy; and yet, with most knightly courtesy, he gives the palm of originality to the lady because she first seized upon the phrase, and acquired in it what, in our law, is called the "title by occupancy." If Lord Byron never saw the phrase in any other place, it was as original in him as in Lady Morgan; and he seems to have mistaken the sense of the word in conceding it to Lady Morgan exclusively upon the strength of her priority in the application of it. Our opinion is, that the expression is older than either Lady Morgan or Lord Byron. But, in truth, the combination is not worth contention; and the claims might easily be adjusted by partition, the one taking the land, and the other the water, without the smallest injury to Lady Morgan's prose or Lord Byron's poetry.

As to poor Mr. Southey, upon whom so much bitter anger is expended in this note, we do not quite perceive in what way he has deserved it. He is accused of being blasphemous in his poem called the "Vision of Judgment," which seems to us to be not a little uncandid. We have expressed our opinion on this poem in a former part of our work, in which our readers may recollect we have decidedly disapproved of both its plan and its execution; but we conceive, that nothing but the extreme tenderness of Lord Byron for the honour of God and his holy religion could have imputed any blasphemous intention to the author.

Our readers will recollect that Mr. Southey expresses himself in his preface to the poem above alluded to, with great animation against a class of authors who appear to him to be doing all in their power to throw ridicule and contempt upon virtue, loyalty, and religion, as well as upon all the decencies and duties of social life.

The offensive passage of Mr. Southey's preface, it will do no harm to repeat.

*"The publication of a lascivious book is one of the worst offences which can be committed against the well-being of society. It is a sin, to the consequences of which no limits can be assigned, and whose consequences no after repentance in the writer can counteract:—whatever remorse of conscience he may feel when his hour comes, (and come it must,) will be of no avail. The poignancy of a death-bed repentance cannot cancel one copy of the thousands which are sent abroad; and, as long as it continues to be read, so long is he the pander of posterity, and so long is he heaping up guilt upon his soul in perpetual accumulation."*

*"These remarks are not more severe than the offence deserves, even when applied to those immoral writers, who have not been*

*conscious of any evil intention in their writings, who would acknowledge a little levity, a little warmth of colouring, and so forth, in that sort of language with which men gloss over their favourite vices, and deceive themselves. What then should be said of those for whom the thoughtlessness and the inebriety of wanton youth can no longer be pleaded, but who have written in sober manhood and with deliberate purpose? Men of diseased hearts and depraved imaginations, who, forming a system of opinions to suit their own unhappy course of conduct, have rebelled against the holiest ordinances of human society, and hating that religion which, with all their efforts and bravadoes, they are unable entirely to disbelieve, labour to make others as miserable as themselves, by infecting them with a moral virus which eats into the soul. The school which they have set up may properly be called the Satanic school; for though their productions breathe the spirit of Belial in their lascivious parts, and the spirit of Moloch in those loathsome images of atrocities and horrors which they delight to represent, they are more especially characterised by a Satanic spirit of pride, and audacious impiety, which still betrays the wretched feelings of hopelessness wherewith it is allied."*

The public will judge how far Mr. Southey was right in his observations on this head; our humble opinion is known and recorded. But why does Lord Byron suppose himself included in the censure. If, as he says of himself, he "has done more real good in any one given year, since he was twenty, than Mr. Southey in the whole course of his shifting and turn-coat existence," why so readily suppose himself intended to be classed in the "Satanic school." We are persuaded, that the most effectual way of answering Mr. Southey, will be to make good this complacent observation respecting himself. His Lordship, however, has not thought so. Sore from the wound, he has run open-mouthed upon the offender; not recollecting that, if he could devour him in his anger, he would not thereby disprove one tittle of the charge. He has brought Mr. Southey again upon him, and possibly by this time he thinks he had better have let him alone. Perhaps he too hastily inferred, from the "Vision of Judgment," that Mr. Southey's vigour had deserted him. Much has been said, and much is said in this note about an early production of Mr. Southey, called *Wat Tyler*, as being of a seditious tendency: it may have been so; we have never read it, nor ever shall; but this we know, that if every man, who in the first sanguine essays of his early youth had scattered abroad his inexperienced trash against the government and laws of his country, were to be considered as for ever incapable of atoning for his errors, or of acquiring credit for sincerity in an entire change of conduct and opinions, the worthiest cause would be deprived

of many of its best, bravest, and wisest defenders. Mr. Southey may readily and honourably thus answer those who remind him of his *Wat Tyler*, and found upon it an accusation of inconsistency.

"I am not inconsistent, unless consistency requires that thought and knowledge should remain stationary through all the stages from youth to age. I thought once as you seem now to think: reflection and observation have changed my sentiments: my sincerity has kept my mind open to conviction: had I set out originally as a disciple of the Satanic school, my consistency would probably have remained inviolate, and resisted the natural progression of age and intelligence."

But it is not by "*Wat Tyler*," or the "*Life of Wesley*," or the "*Vision of Judgment*," that Mr. Southey will be estimated by his countrymen at large, and an impartial posterity. He is indisputably one of the great ornaments of the age in which he lives, and it only makes us astonished at the transcendent usefulness of the author of "*Cain a Mystery*," and certain other poems, when it is ascertained to us, upon his own authority, that he "has done more real good in any one given year, than Mr. Southey in the whole course of his existence." We will not pick out any particular year thus to compare it with the whole existence of Mr. Southey, for that would be invidious, though the challenge goes to that length; but as his life seems to have been distributed into cantos, we will take any—the fifth, sixth, or latest of the noble poet's life, and stake the value of the year in our present poet laureat's existence in which the "*Wat Tyler*" was composed, against it, without any anxiety for the issue of the wager.

In this same portentous note we are threatened also with an approaching revolution. "The government," says he, "may exult over the repression of petty tumults; these are but the receding waves repulsed and broken for a moment on the shore, while the great tide is still rolling on, and gaining ground with every breaker." And we should think so too, if we did not discern in the almost universal feeling of disgust which the nation, (and when we speak of the nation we advert, of course, only to that part of it which is capable of reflection, including the sound portion of the multitude,) manifests at such works as "*Don Juan*," and "*Cain, a Mystery*," the proofs of a right spirit. There is not an honest tiller of the ground, hard as may be his fate at this period, that would take the glory with the peril of having written those two works in exchange for his humble but hopeful poverty. It is this reflection which strengthens our nerves against these solemn forebodings. All rests on what in political language is called "opinion" in this country. As

long as that is sound we shall continue to think that "God has put a lying spirit in the mouths of those prophets" who assure us of the approach of revolutionary disasters.

Of "*Cain a Mystery*," the last dramatic poem of this volume, we shall say but little. We have heard it remarked, that a great deal of premeditated mischief is couched under the plausible reasonings put into the mouths of Cain and Lucifer. This may or may not be a just conclusion. We have no right to say that Lord Byron adopts the apologies of Cain or the dialectics of the Devil. All that can be fairly said on this subject is this—that it has been a part of the poet's plan to throw as much ingenuity into the arguments both of Cain and his mentor as it was competent to his lordship to furnish, and that he has left those arguments without refutation or answer to produce their unrestricted influence on the reader.

The sources to which Lord Byron has resorted for his discoveries in theology, we think it not difficult to conjecture. As Satan is in this poem to figure as an heroic personage, it has seemed to the poet to be of importance to vindicate his honour from all concern with the seduction of the mother of mankind, which he maintains is wholly attributed in scripture to the serpent, without any allusion to the efficiency of the devil in that work: and in his zeal to do this piece of justice, his Lordship becomes, on a sudden, an advocate for "the Bible, and nothing but the Bible." He tells us a story of Bishop Waston, who, he says, when the fathers were quoted to him, as moderator in the schools of Cambridge, was wont to say, "Behold the Book," holding up the scriptures. But he seems to forget that the book, which the bishop so held up to the view of the persons present, was the Bible, composed of the Old and New Testament, and possibly, he may not know, that in an ineffably grand and vital part of the New Testament the dragon is styled that old serpent, the Devil and Satan,\* and again in another place that Satan is called the "Wicked one," "the Enemy," and the "Tempter of mankind."† We shall not go into the reasonings which have been adduced by great writers on this subject, but, conceding to Lord Byron, that the book of Genesis does not expressly in terms state that Eve was tempted by a demon, but by "the serpent," we are not afraid to say, that none but those, whose minds are hardened against conviction, can read the account of the serpent's treachery as related in scripture, without feeling assured that he is reading of the efficient fraud of Satan himself in the form and by the instrumentality of the serpent. Is any

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\* Rev. xii. 9.

† Matt. xiii. 19, 39.

man, woman, or child, honestly of opinion that the whole responsibility of that act rested upon the brute animal, in whose shape it was achieved?

Neither can we let pass without a comment the other assertion of his Lordship, that "there is no allusion to a future state in any of the books of Moses, nor indeed in the Old Testament." It is quite true, that the express promulgation of eternal life came from "that blessed and only Potentate who only hath immortality," who is himself "the resurrection and the life." Yet there are numerous passages dispersed through the Old Testament, which import something more than "an allusion to a future state." In truth, the Old Testament abounds in phrases which imply the immortality of the soul, and which would be insignificant and hardly intelligible, but upon that supposition. When in the writings of Moses it is said of persons dying, that they were gathered unto their people, it must be understood, that their immortal part was so gathered, since their bodies were often interred at great distances from their ancestors. So when God declares to Abraham, that he shall go to his fathers in peace, Gen. xv. 15, can it have been only intended, that he was to be at peace with them in absolute extinction? "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." Eccl. xii. 7. "I will ransom them from the power of the grave: I will redeem them from death: O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction." Hosea xiii. 14. "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame, and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament: and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever." Dan. x. 2, 3. "He will swallow up death in victory." Is. xxv. 8. "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake, and sing, ye that dwell in dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead." Is. xxvi. 19. "When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive." Ez. xviii. 27. "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God." Job xix. 25, 26. "My flesh also shall rest in hope. For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell." Ps. xvi. 9. "But God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave: for he shall receive me." Ps. xlix. 15. "The righteous hath hope in his death." Prov. xiv. 32. Our Saviour, in Mark xii. 26, proves the resurrection of the dead from the words in Exodus iii. 6, spoken by the Almighty, "I am (not I was) the

GOD of Abraham, the GOD of Isaac, and the GOD of Jacob," for he is not a God of the dead but the GOD of the living. But there would be no end of citing passages from the Old Testament to shew that not only the immortality of the soul is implied in its divine pages, but the resurrection of the body also. Well, therefore, might our Saviour direct the Jews to search the scriptures of the Old Testament, "for in them ye think ye have eternal life." In short, the Jews were not only directed to the hope of eternal life, but were instructed in the Old Testament to look for a clearer and brighter revelation of that grand mystery. The doctrine is also found typically and practically promulged throughout the Old Testament; as by the appearance of angels and spirits; by the translation of Enoch and Elijah; by the nature and significancy of the ceremonial law; by the doctrines, and exhortations, and warnings of the great legislator of Israel; by the whole character and design of the Jewish sacrifices and oblations. And yet does this green but confident theologian undoubtingly pronounce that there is no allusion to a future state in the whole of the Old Testament.

With respect to the execution of this poem, which is entitled "Cain, a Mystery," we will not deny that there are passages in it of considerable merit; and in the drawing of Cain himself there is much vigorous expression. It seems, however, as if, in the effort to give to Lucifer that "spiritual politeness" which the poet professes to have in view, he has reduced him rather below the standard of diabolic dignity which was necessary to his dramatic interest. He has scarcely "given the devil his due." We thought Lord Byron knew him better. Milton's Satan, with his faded majesty, and blasted, but not obliterated glory, holds us suspended between terror and amazement, with something like awe of his spiritual essence and lost estate; but Lord Byron has introduced him to us as elegant, pensive, and beautiful, with an air of sadness and suffering that ranks him with the oppressed, and bespeaks our pity. Thus, in a dialogue with Adah he comes forth to our view so qualified as to engage our sympathies. Lucifer is endeavouring to recommend to the wife of Cain the worship of the morning star:

"*Adah.* It is a beautiful star; I love it for  
Its beauty.

*Luc.* And why not adore?

*Adah.* Our father  
Adores the Invisible only.

*Luc.* But the symbols  
Of the Invisible are the loveliest  
Of what is visible; and yon bright star  
Is leader of the host of heaven.



*Adah.* Our father  
Saith that he has beheld the God himself  
Who made him and our mother.  
*Luc.* Hast thou seen him?  
*Adah.* Yes—in his works.  
*Luc.* But in his being? •  
*Adah.* No—  
Save in my father, who is God's own image;  
Or in his angels, who are like to thee—  
And brighter, yet less beautiful and powerful  
In seeming; as the silent sunny noon,  
All light they look upon us; but thou seem'st  
Like an ethereal night, where long white clouds  
Streak the deep purple, and unnumber'd stars  
Spangle the wonderful mysterious vault  
With things that look as if they would be suns;  
So beautiful, unnumber'd, and endearing,  
Not dazzling, and yet drawing us to them,  
They fill my eyes with tears, and so dost thou.  
Thou seem'st unhappy; do not make us so,  
And I will weep for thee." (P. 369, 370.)

Lord Byron's devil is well furnished with all those cunning and staggering reasonings about the origin of evil, which are always at hand, and of most ready applicability wherever the appeal is made to an understanding that assumes a right to fathom and comprehend the whole plan and spirit of God's dispensations and appointments. They may be all found in Bayle's dictionary and the novels of Voltaire. They smell rankly and fetidly of that "Satanic school:" our nostrils are "sagacious of the quarry from afar." But we shall not suffer ourselves to be led by these presumptuous challenges into this field of mutual discomfiture, where the combatants on either side find nothing but defeat and despair. The only way of dealing with the subject is to take the course that most satisfactorily illustrates, from the analogies of the natural and moral world, and the testimonies of experience, the boundaries of human competency;—a topic which has already engaged us, and exhausted us in our review of Dr. Copleston's most able work.\* We cannot but deprecate a poem from so popular a hand, the object of which seems to be to render familiar to the great mass of ordinary readers—to those who can catch only short glimpses of metaphysical questions, and find it easier to deny than to discriminate—arguments that flatter profane ignorance with the semblance of philosophy, and conduct, by an abuse of reason, to the rejection of truths with which reason has nothing to do but to judge of their external

\* Brit. Rev. Vol. XVIII. 331.

evidence. We console ourselves with thinking that "*Cain*, a *Mystery*," may possibly, after all, be found too dull and disputatious to take hold of any part of the public; who will consider, perhaps, that, as evil is plainly and palpably an inseparable part of our allotment on earth, however it may have got among us, it is much more to our purpose to stem its influence, and find antidotes to its malignity, than to ascertain by what authority it has obtruded itself wherever man has a settlement or sojourn. That we may not seem to be rendered insensible, by our prejudices, to the beauties of Lord Byron's poetry, when they occur, (and though they occur far less frequently in the volume before us than in his other productions, yet they do even here occur,) we will extract the dialogue between Adah and Cain, in which the reader will perceive that every apparent advantage of reason is studiously given to Cain in his contest with womanly softness.

*" Cain. Say, what have we here ?*

*Adah. Two altars, which our brother Abel made  
During thine absence, whereupon to offer  
A sacrifice to God on thy return.*

*Cain. And how knew he, that I would be so ready  
With the burnt offerings, which he daily brings  
With a meek brow, whose base humility  
Shows more of fear than worship, as a bribe  
To the Creator ?*

*Adah. Surely, 'tis well done.*

*Cain. One altar may suffice ; I have no offering.*

*Adah. The fruits of the earth, the early, beautiful,  
Blossom and bud, and bloom of flowers, and fruits ;  
These are a goodly offering to the Lord,  
Given with a gentle and a contrite spirit.*

*Cain. I have toil'd, and till'd, and sweaten in the sun  
According to the curse ;—must I do more ?  
For what should I be gentle ? for a war  
With all the elements ere they will yield  
The bread we eat ? For what must I be grateful ?  
For being dust, and groveling in the dust,  
Till I return to dust ? If I am nothing—  
For nothing shall I be an hypocrite,  
And seem well-pleased with pain ? For what should I  
Be contrite ? for my father's sin, already  
Expiate with what we all have undergone,  
And to be more than expiated by  
The ages prophesied, upon our seed.  
Little deems our young blooming sleeper, there,  
The germs of an eternal misery  
To myriads is within him ! better 'twere  
I snatch'd him in his sleep, and dash'd him 'gainst  
The rocks, than let him live*

*Adah.* Oh, my God!  
Touch not the child—my child! *thy* child? Oh Cain!

*Cain.* Fear not! for all the stars, and all the power  
Which sways them, I would not accost yon infant  
With ruder greeting than a father's kiss.

*Adah.* Then, why so awful in thy speech?

*Cain.* I said,

'Twere better that he ceased to live, than give  
Life to so much of sorrow as he must

Endure, and, harder still, bequeath; but since

That saying jars you, let us only say—

'Twere better that he never had been born.

*Adah.* Oh, do not say so! Where were then the joys,

The mother's joys of watching, nourishing,

And loving him? Soft! he awakes. Sweet Enoch!

[*She goes to the child.*]

Oh Cain! look on him; see how full of life,  
Of strength, of bloom, of beauty, and of joy,  
How like to me—how like to thee, when gentle,  
For *then* we are *all* alike; is't not so, Cain?

Mother, and sire, and son, our features are

Reflected in each other; as they are

In the clear waters, when *they* are *gentle*, and

When *thou* art *gentle*. Love us, then, my Cain!

And love thyself for our sakes, for we love thee.

Look! how he laughs and stretches out his arms,

And opens wide his blue eyes upon thine,

To hail his father; while his little form

Flutters as wing'd with joy. Talk not of pain!

The childless cherubs well might envy thee

The pleasures of a parent! Bless him, Cain!

As yet he hath no words to thank thee, but

His heart will, and thine own too." (P. 416—418.)

Our time has been so contracted that we have been obliged to gallop through this article, and to leave many things unsaid which we had intended to say. We cannot, however, omit remarking that, notwithstanding this volume of dull poetry, for such it is in the greater part, we retain our admiration of the powers and performances, in general, of this successful poet; and we could not help rejoicing at certain confessions made in the note, to which we have before directed the reader's attention, which struck us as auguries of a beneficial change in the tendency and value of Lord Byron's compositions. It is due to the character of this volume to admit that it does some homage to virtue, in the two tragedies of "*Sardanapalus*" and "*The Two Foscari*," which are so far superior in moral worth to the other writings of the same author, that we feel it painful not to have

it in our power to designate them as the most worthy of the critic's applause.

Upon the whole, we are not sorry to find from the view which has been afforded us by this attempt at sacred drama, of the religious interior of Lord Byron's mind, that he is ignorant of the Bible;—ignorant not from the neglect of reading it, but from not reading it aright. Had he appeared to know more of it, we should have despaired of him more than we do. It is not till every spark of potential grace is extinguished in his mind, that a man can come from the serious perusal of that awful Book, with a disposition to do it dishonour. Lord Byron has certainly not read it seriously; and it does not impart its knowledge to those who read it for speculation, or for poetry, or for the purposes of profane pleasantry. As he talks about repentance, and his "death-bed," in his angry note concerning Mr. Southey, he may possibly endure a hint from us, that if he will read the Bible with his latter end full in his view, he will there meet with much that may be of use to him in the illustration of that topic. One of the first effects of such serious consultation of that book, may probably be to make him renounce all dangerous connections, and particularly that which we suspect him of maintaining with the anonymous author of *Don Juan*; concerning whom we have written our sentiments in our last number, if Lord Byron wishes to know more about him. Another consequence of such serious reading of the scripture we think, may possibly be, that the devil will begin to fall very fast in his estimation, and lose much of that comeliness, and comity, and interesting demeanour, with which he has come forth to view in this spiritual burletta before us. His Lordship may, in virtue of such better acquaintance with the scriptures, begin to think that it is safer to study divinity with the Holy Spirit for his guide, than with "Satan at his right hand." Upon the very law of the subject he will probably after such a partial change his opinion; and think, that in the case *ex parte* Cain, notwithstanding the arguments, which, as counsel for the accused, he has urged in his defence, the judgment was consistent with equity:—that in the balance of evil and good he was fairly dealt with, having had proffers of effectual aid against the propensities of his fallen nature, had he chosen to accept it: which, indeed, is the case with us all.

One great inconvenience in having any thing to do with Satan, even in sport, is, that one is apt to get insensibly into bad humour. Why, when Mr. Southey writes about the "Satanic School," should Lord Byron take offence? Peradventure his brain was at that moment in the act of concocting this demoniacal drama. This soreness of Lord Byron has given Mr. Southey

an advantage over him, notwithstanding the injury to his fame from his own hand in his *Vision of Judgment*, which, though we acquit that gentleman of any irreverence for holy things, rises, we think, not greatly higher than "Cain" in religious propriety. One good may come from this poetical quarrel, which we cannot forbear adverting to with complacency,—we may expect for the future that the *Quarterly Review* will act more in harmony with its professions, and more agreeably to that moral independence upon worldly connections which a critical work of dignity should exhibit, by treating with uncompromising severity every publication which has a direct or indirect tendency to disparage religion, pervert truth, or corrupt the heart.

Since the author of "*Cain, a Mystery*," takes credit to himself for having done good in his generation (see the note concerning Mr. Southey), may his good works testify in his favour, and procure for him a happier "death-bed" (we allude again to the same note), than, in the opinion of some, he has reason to anticipate; but as to this play, to use the technical phraseology of the theatre, we wish it damned as it deserves.

One word more, and we end our observations. We are just informed that cheap editions are printing of this last effusion of Lord Byron's genius, for circulation among the poorer portion of our fellow subjects. Does the author think that this is done in order to bring the poetical beauties of the work within the compass of the poor, or to promote Satan's kingdom upon earth? If this latter be the object,—and who can doubt it,—let his lordship look seriously at this consequence of his direful lucubrations. It must force upon him, we trust, as he draws insensibly, but inevitably, towards that abyss of frightful possibilities which lies at the end of his mortal career, some reasonable terrors of conscience, and some compunctious drops from his eye-lids. It would not be infidelity, but stupidity, to be insensible to such things. The age of sanguine security is sliding fast away,—the paradise in which he revels will soon shed its foliage,—and grey hairs, the blossoms of the grave, will appear in its place; substantial pain, infirmity, and sorrow, will, unless anticipated, be his last companions, after the pageants of the passing hour shall have been long annihilated; and then this ugly drama, ugly in sentiment, however florid in imagery, how will it appear among the visions that crowd the melancholy retrospect? As to the distribution of the piece in cheap editions, we do not expect from it much diffusive harm: the Devil has in this play a certain romantic melancholy about him, coupled with an aristocratic elevation of manner, which will not recommend him to the populace. Besides which, if we mistake not, he has forfeited something of his credit lately, by the disappointment of

some brilliant expectations to which he had given birth. Events which appeared to be fast advancing his empire, have been ominously frustrated; so that, upon the whole, we have some hope that, notwithstanding the plausible figure he makes in this liberal drama, not a very large number will assent to the arguments which it ingeniously offers in his justification.

It is said that the publisher has repented of his concern with this work. Of this we know nothing. Let us see his repentance in the *Quarterly Review*, which has suffered in many instances works of the most pestilential tendency to disgrace our national press with impunity. Whoever may be the author of the little pamphlet called "*The Remonstrance*," we think he has taken a right view of the subject; and we strongly recommend it to the public. Booksellers are a very responsible class of men. Johnson called them the patrons of literature. Why should they degrade themselves into the mere brokers of intellect:—the passive, if not the venal instruments of moral mischief? They surely do not, as a body, renounce their personal interest in the national honour and prosperity; nor hold themselves liable to be called upon to propagate as merchants what they deprecate as men. We address ourselves, of course, in these observations, to those of this branch of trade who are among the honourable of the earth, without, perhaps, a sufficient feeling of the real extent of their duties comprehended in that character: the miserable vendors of obscene and seditious trash are at open war with human happiness. By their increase or diminution they serve as indices to mark the fluctuations of public stability. When once they cease to produce a correspondent reaction on society, our equipoise is lost, and we are gone as a people for ever.

#### ART. V.—HORNE'S INTRODUCTION TO THE CRITICAL STUDY OF SCRIPTURE.

*An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.* By Thos. Hartwell Horne, A. M. (of St. John's College, Cambridge,) Curate of the United Parishes of Christ Church, Newgate Street, and of St. Leonard, Foster Lane. Second edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged, illustrated with numerous maps, and fac-similes of Biblical Manuscripts. 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1821.

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It is a truly auspicious "sign of the times," that the zeal and ability displayed by the believers in Divine revelation, in combat-

ing the assaults of infidelity, have risen in proportion to the attacks which, especially of late years, have been directed against the authority of the Sacred Scriptures. In these assaults there is scarcely a trace of novelty of argument; the old rusty weapon newly furbished, the old poison newly concocted, are all that infidelity can discover to attack the Gospel and destroy the souls of men; so that whoever has well considered the specious, though in many cases gross cavils and objections of Spinoza, Tindal, Morgan, Chubb, Bolingbroke, Hume, and other sceptics of the last and preceding centuries, will be readily able to refute the bold and unmeasured attacks of later writers. Yet even the authors just specified were not original in their objections; many of their arguments were but the common-places of infidelity in every age, and had been satisfactorily answered long before they were born. One class of weapons was stolen, by an ingenious but not very honest process, from their adversaries;—finding that devout and learned men, after having devoted years of close application to the study of the sacred text, had observed some *seeming* contradictions, anachronisms, inconsistencies, and other inaccuracies, which infidels by themselves would never in all probability have discovered (for if they had meditated on the scriptures with sufficient attention for such a purpose, they could hardly have remained infidels); they eagerly laid hold of these apparent difficulties, but *wholly kept back the solution*, thus leading the “unstable and unwary” to suppose that no solution had been, or could be, offered. We could easily point out a hundred examples of this artifice, were it necessary.

If, indeed, *truth* were the object of the writers who have of late figured in the cause of blasphemy and infidelity, they would have rested satisfied with the full and irrefragable answers given by learned and pious men of former times, and would long since have desisted from obtruding their mischievous publications upon the world, knowing, as they *must* know, that they contain little or nothing but what has been again and again confuted, and ought therefore to be for ever abandoned by all ingenuous disputants. We might add also, that if *truth*,—and not gain, or the love of notoriety, or a factious spirit, or an appetite for mischief, were their excitement—they would adopt a very different style of writing to that which usually characterises their productions; they would display their arguments *as* arguments, not as cavils, and, much less, expressed in the language of derision or scurrility. But whatever may be the motives of such writers, it is their obvious policy, and that of their abettors, to represent themselves as champions, and, if necessary, as martyrs, for *truth*. Hence, they bring forth objections refuted again and again, with



all the apparent ardour and simplicity of new discoverers; and every fresh production is hailed by the partizans of the faction with triumph, as though it were a *new* work, affording *original* as well as unanswerable objections to revealed religion. Such being the fact, we are not displeased to observe,—though, after so much has been written and *proved* on the subject, the service might at first sight seem superfluous,—that numerous advocates have of late appeared on the side of revelation; and that, while individuals and societies have been using their efforts to stem the torrent of blasphemy, materials adapted to their purpose have been provided in abundance ready to their hands. And, whatever may be the character of the modern advocates of infidelity, or, however insolent their language, or arrogant their pretensions, yet, as their productions are read, and their conclusions gulped down by many who cannot detect their sophistry, it is necessary that persons competent to the task should continue to meet these antagonists, and to furnish such new arguments, or revive such old, as may enable every private Christian, and still more those who are engaged in preparing for the sacred office, to combat every objector. Happily for the cause of religion, the Sacred Scriptures demand and invite inquiry; and the more critically and minutely they are investigated, the brighter will be the lustre of those evidences which prove them to be “not the word of man, but in truth the word of God.”

These remarks have suggested themselves to us in taking up the elaborate work mentioned at the head of this article; a work which we are glad to find has so soon passed into a second edition, though it may seem to reproach us for not having sooner reviewed the first. Mr. Horne's publication, however, appeared to us, like a dictionary or encyclopædia, more suitable for reference and instruction, than to form the subject of a paper in a popular journal; and might have still continued unnoticed, had not the considerations in our prefatory remarks induced us to think it our duty not to overlook so erudite and valuable a publication, even at the risk of being able to present to our readers little more than a catalogue—scarcely a *catalogue raisonné*—of its contents.

The object of the author in the present volumes is to furnish a comprehensive manual of biblical criticism and interpretation, and a full and satisfactory view of the Divine inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures. From the great variety of the subjects discussed, as well as the extent of research apparent in every page, we can readily believe the reverend writer when he states, that this work embodies the result of nearly twenty years' diligent study and labour. It is comprised in four very large

volumes, containing nearly three thousand pages, and forms, we scruple not to say, the most comprehensive and useful manual of biblical literature extant in the English language.

The first volume contains a critical inquiry into the genuineness, authenticity, uncorrupted preservation, and inspiration of the Sacred Canon. Having shown the necessity of a Divine revelation from a view of the degraded state of moral and religious knowledge among the ancients, as well as among heathen nations to the present day, the author proceeds to refute the objection of modern infidels, that philosophy and right reason are sufficient to instruct men in their duty, by exhibiting, *in their own words*, the discordant and contradictory speculations of modern opposers of revelation in respect to religion and morals, and the baneful effects actually produced upon nations and individuals by the gloomy and demoralizing system, if system it may be called, of infidelity. The condensed details of facts produced in this part of the work are of a most painful nature; but they claim the serious consideration of every candid antagonist of Christianity, and ought to excite increased gratitude in every Christian for the heaven-descended gift of the "words of eternal life."

Having proved the necessity of a Divine revelation, and shown the probability that such a revelation would be mercifully afforded, the author proceeds to examine the claims of the Old and New Testament, which profess to be that revelation, to the exclusion of all other systems. Among the attacks made on Christianity, one of the most formidable—and the one that lies at the root of all the rest—is that which is directed against the truth of the canonical Scriptures. It has been asserted, that we derive a set of rules and opinions from a series of books not written by the authors to whom we ascribe them; and that the volume which we call divine, and which is the basis of our faith and manners, is but a forgery. It is of the utmost importance therefore, as a preliminary step, to ascertain the genuineness, authenticity, and uncorruptness of the several books contained in the Bible, considered simply as compositions; after which the credibility of their respective authors must be investigated; and, lastly, their claims to be received as of Divine inspiration. In discussing these momentous topics, it might, as Mr. Horne observes, be the shorter way to begin with the New Testament; for, if the claims of this part of the volume of revelation be proved, those of the Old Testament cannot be reasonably doubted, because the New Testament incessantly refers to the Old, and makes ample quotations from it. Since, however, the modern impugnors of revelation have directed their arguments chiefly against the Old Testament in order to impeach the New, Mr.

Horne commences with the former; observing, that if that which was only preparatory, can be shewn to be of Divine origin, that which succeeded, and which completed the former, must have an equal sanction. There is an *apparent* want of logical strictness in this argument; a prophecy, for example, might be of Divine origin, and therefore infallible, while an alleged event, *purporting* to be the fulfilment of it, might be a mere fiction. As one instance among many, the Messiah was to be despised and rejected; but it would not necessarily follow, that, because a person *professing* to be the Messiah was despised and rejected, he was therefore the real Messiah. The foundation might have been divinely laid, and merely human materials have been built upon it. But, notwithstanding this *apparent* inconclusiveness, the argument is not *really* inconclusive; for it can be shewn, not merely that the Old Testament is true, and that the dispensation there commenced is completed in the New, but that it is completed *no where else*, (and completed it must be by the hypothesis, or the Old Testament which predicts a completion could not be true), besides which, it can be further shewn, that the *alleged* completion of it in the New was a genuine completion, and that it bears such marks as prove that this was the very, and, as was just remarked, the *only* completion intended by the Omniscient Revealer. Mr. Horne's argument substantially involves these points; and, therefore, though not quite logically enounced, is, in fact, perfectly conclusive.

Having stated the external and internal evidences for the genuineness, authenticity, and credibility of the Old Testament, our author proceeds over the same ground with respect to the New. The details in this part of his work are minute, but their importance abundantly compensates for the length at which they are necessarily treated. The critical nature and consecutiveness of argument of this and other portions of Mr. Horne's volumes, prevent our detaching many passages by way of specimen; we cannot, however, resist the temptation of quoting a few paragraphs from the chapter which contains the author's selection of testimonies to the credibility of the Scriptures, drawn from natural and civil history, and particularly that comparatively *new* branch of collateral testimony,—the incidental confirmation of scriptural facts by coins, medals, and ancient marbles. Our first extract shall consist of a peculiarly interesting passage from the testimonies of heathen advocates to the lives, characters, and sufferings of the early Christians. The testimonies of Tacitus, who is confirmed by Suetonius, Martial, and Juvenal; of Pliny the Younger, and Trajan; of Celsus, Lucian, Julian the Apostate, and others, are presented at length, and with suitable annotations. Of these, the most important is that of Tacitus, which

we select on account of some puny attempts which have lately been made to undermine the credibility of that faithful historian.

"The first persecution of the Christians was raised by the emperor Nero, A. D. 65, that is, about thirty years after the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Concerning this persecution, we have the testimonies of two Roman historians, Tacitus and Suetonius.

"Tacitus was contemporary with the apostles. Relating the great fire at Rome, in the tenth year of Nero's reign, he says, that the people imputed that calamity to the emperor, who (they imagined) had set fire to the city, that he might have the glory of re-building it more magnificently, and of calling it after his own name; but that Nero charged the crime on the Christians; and in order to give the more plausible colour to this calumny, he put great numbers of them to death in the most cruel manner. With the view of conciliating the people, he expended great sums in adorning the city, bestowed largesses on those who had suffered by the fire, and offered many expiatory sacrifices to appease the gods.—The historian's words are:— 'But neither human assistance, nor the largesses of the emperor, nor all the atonements offered to the gods, availed: the infamy of that horrible transaction still adhered to him. To suppress, if possible, this common rumour, Nero procured others to be accused, and punished with exquisite tortures a race of men detested for their evil practices, who were commonly known by the name of Christians. The author of that sect (or name) was Christus, who in the reign of Tiberius was punished with death, as a criminal, by the procurator Pontius Pilate. But this pestilent superstition, though checked for a while, broke out afresh, not only in Judea, where the evil first originated, but even in the city (of Rome), the common sink into which every thing filthy and abominable flows from all quarters of the world. At first those only were apprehended, who confessed themselves of that sect; afterwards a vast multitude discovered by them; all of whom were condemned, not so much for the crime of burning the city, as for their enmity to mankind. Their executions were so contrived as to expose them to derision and contempt. Some were covered over with the skins of wild beasts, that they might be torn to pieces by dogs; some were crucified; while others, having been daubed over with combustible materials, were set up as lights in the night time, and thus burnt to death. For these spectacles, Nero gave his own gardens, and, at the same time, exhibited there the diversions of the circus; sometimes standing in the crowd as a spectator, in the habit of a charioteer, and at other times driving a chariot himself: until at length, these men, though really criminal and deserving exemplary punishment, began to be commiserated, as people who were destroyed, not out of regard to the public welfare, but only to gratify the cruelty of one man.' \*

"The testimony, which Suetonius bears to this persecution, is in the following words:— 'The Christians likewise were severely punished, a sort of people addicted to a new and mischievous superstition.' †

\* Tacitus, *Annal.* lib. xv. c. 44. Lardner's *Heathen Testimonies*, chap. v. Works, vol. vii, pp. 251—259, 8vo.; or vol. iii. pp. 610—614, 4to.

† Suetonius in *Nero*, c. xvi. Lardner, chap. viii. Works, vol. vii, pp. 225—272, 8vo.; vol. iii, pp. 618—622, 4to.

"The preceding accounts of the persecution of the Christians by Nero, are further confirmed by Martial, the epigrammatist (who lived at the close of the first century), and by Juvenal, the satirist (who flourished during the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, and Adrian); both of whom allude to the Neronian persecution, and especially to the pitched coat in which the Christians were burnt.

"Martial has an epigram, of which the following is a literal translation:—'You have, perhaps, lately seen acted on the theatre, Mucius, who thrust his hand into the fire: if you think such a person patient, valiant, stout, you are a senseless dotard. For it is a much greater thing, when threatened with *the troublesome coat*, to say,—'I do not sacrifice,' than to obey the command,—'Burn the hand.' '\* This troublesome coat or shirt of the Christians, was made like a sack, of paper or coarse linen cloth, either besmeared with pitch, wax, or sulphur, and similar combustible materials, or dipped in them; it was then put upon the Christians; and, in order that they might be kept upright,—the better to resemble a flaming torch, their chins were severally fastened to stakes fixed in the ground. †

In his first satire, Juvenal has the following allusion:

Now dare

To glance at Tigellinus, and you glare

In that pitch'd shirt in which such crowds expire,

Chain'd to the bloody stake, and wrapp'd in fire. ‡

Or, more literally,—'Describe a great villain, such as was Tigellinus,' (a corrupt minister under Nero), 'and you shall suffer the same punishment with those, who stand burning in their own flame and smoke, their head being held up by a stake fixed to a chain, till they make a long stream' (of blood and fluid sulphur) 'on the ground.' §

"The above cited testimony of Tacitus, corroborated as it is by contemporary writers, is a very important confirmation of the evangelical history. In it the historian attests, 1. That Jesus Christ was put to death as a malefactor by Pontius Pilate, procurator under Tiberius; 2. That from Christ the people called Christians derived their name and sentiments; 3. That this religion or superstition (as he terms it) had its rise in Judea, where it also spread, notwithstanding the ignominious death of its founder, and the opposition which his followers afterwards experienced from the people of that country; 4. That it was propagated from Judea into other parts of the world as far as

\* In matutina nuper spectatus arena

Mucius, imposuit qui sua membra facis.

Si patiens forti-que tibi durusque videtur,

Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes.

Nam cum dicatur, tunicâ præsentis molestâ,

'Ure manum,' plus est dicere: 'Non facio.'

Martial. lib. x. epig. 25.

† Lardner, chap. vi. Works, vol. vii. pp. 260—262, 8vo.; or vol. iii, pp. 615, 616, 4to.

‡ Mr. Gifford's translation, p. 27. The original passage is thus:

Pone Tigellinum, lædâ lucebis in illâ,

Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,

Et latum mediâ sulcum deducit arenâ. Juven. Sat. 11b. i. 155—157,

§ Lardner, chap. vii. Works, vol. vii. pp. 262—263, 8vo.; or vol. iii. pp. 616 618, 4to.

Rome; where, in the tenth or eleventh year of Nero, and before that time, the Christians were very numerous; \* and 5. That the professors of this religion were reproached and hated, and underwent many and grievous sufferings.

"On the above cited passage of Tacitus, Gibbon has the following remark:—'*The most sceptical criticism is obliged to respect the TRUTH of this extraordinary fact,*' (the persecution of the Christians under Nero), '*AND THE INTEGRITY OF THIS CELEBRATED PASSAGE OF TACITUS. The FORMER*' (its truth) '*is confirmed by the diligent and accurate Suetonius, who mentions the punishment which Nero inflicted upon the Christians. The LATTER*' (its integrity and genuineness) '*may be PROVED by the consent of the most antient manuscripts; by the inimitable character of Tacitus; by his reputation, which guarded his text from the interpolations of pious fraud; and by the purport of his narration.*'† Such is the observation of the elegant and learned historian, whose hatred of Christianity has led him, in other parts of his work, to misrepresent both it and the Christians; yet, in defiance of all historical and critical testimony, an opposer of revelation (now living) has affirmed, that 'the texts which are to be found in the works of Tacitus, are too much suspected of interpolations to be adduced as an authority.' The effrontery of this assertion is only surpassed by the wilful ignorance which it exhibits, especially as the writer alluded to has reprinted Gibbon's misrepresentations of Christians and Christianity, in a cheap form, in order to deceive and mislead the unwary." (Vol. i. p. 220—223.)

The following passage, which is not less interesting to classical than to biblical scholars, contains a condensed but most satisfactory refutation of the specious objections which have been attempted to be raised against the credibility of the Scripture history, from the silence of the Greek and Latin writers respecting many important facts recorded in the sacred text. After shewing generally that the silence of the writers in question may be satisfactorily accounted for, by their extreme ignorance concerning events which occurred very long before their own time, and the peculiar contempt entertained by them for both Jews and Christians, the author proceeds as follows to add several *specific* and perfectly satisfactory reasons in reference to their silence respecting the remarkable events in the life of Christ.

"1. That many books of those remote ages are lost, in which it is

\* The expression of Tacitus is, *ingens multitudo*, a vast multitude; which Voltaire, with his accustomed disregard of truth, has represented as only a few poor wretches, who were sacrificed to public vengeance. Essay on History, vol. i. ch. v. p. 60. Nugent's Translation. Dr. Macknight has completely exposed the falsehood of that profligate writer, in his Credibility of the Gospel History, pp. 300—302. Mr. Gibbon's false translation and misrepresentations of the passage of Tacitus above cited, are ably exposed in the appendix to Bp. Watson's Apology for the Bible, addressed to the historian.

† Decline and Fall, vol. II. pp. 407, 408.

very possible that some mention might have been made of these facts. Hence it has happened that many occurrences, which are related in the evangelical history, are not to be found in the writings of the heathens. Of these writings, indeed, we have now but few remaining in comparison of their original number: and those which are extant, are only fragments of preceding histories. Thus, the mighty works performed by Jesus Christ, and the monuments of the great achievements that took place in the age when he was born, are now missing or lost. All the history of Dion Cassius, from the consulships of Antistius and Balbus to the consulships of Messala and Cinna (that is, for the space of ten years,—five years before and five years after the birth of Christ), is totally lost, as also is Livy's history of the same period. In vain, therefore, does any one expect to find the remarkable passages concerning the birth of Christ in these writers: and much more vain is it to look for these things in those writers, whose histories are altogether missing at this day. To instance only the census or enrolment ordered by Augustus and mentioned by Luke (ii. 1, 2), the silence of historians concerning which has been a favourite topic with objectors:—There can be no doubt but that some one of the Roman historians did record that transaction (for the Romans have sedulously recorded every thing that was connected with the grandeur and riches of their empire); though their writings are now lost, either by negligence,—by fire,—by the irruption of the barbarous nations into Italy,—or by age and length of time. It is evident that some *one* historian *did* mention the census above alluded to: otherwise, whence did Suidas derive information of the *fact*;—that Augustus sent TWENTY SELECT MEN, of acknowledged character for virtue and integrity, into ALL the provinces of the empire, to take a census both of men and of property, and commanded that a just proportion of the latter should be brought into the imperial treasury? And *this*, Suidas adds, *was the FIRST census.*\*

"2. *Some of the Roman Historians, whose works have come down to our time, are defective.* This is particularly the case with Livy and Tacitus, from whom we cannot expect any narrative of events that have reference to the birth of Christ, or to any great occurrence that took place about that time. For Livy wrote only to the commencement of Augustus's reign, which was *before* the time of Christ; consequently, he could not record so memorable an event as that of a census throughout the Roman empire, which did not take place until the *thirtieth* year of Augustus's reign. And no notice *could* be taken of that transaction by Tacitus, because he does not go so far back as Augustus. His *Annals* begin with the reign of Tiberius, and continue to the death of Nero: his books of *History* begin where the annals terminate, and conclude with Vespasian's expedition against the Jews. For the knowledge of the transactions intervening between the close of Livy and the commencement of Tacitus, we are indebted to Velleius Paterculus, Florus, Plutarch, Dion Cassius, Justin, and others, who lived *long after* the time of Augustus, and who compiled

\* Suidæ Lexicon, voce Απογραφῆς,—tom. i. p. 271, edit. Kuster.

their histories from such materials as they could command. Florus, in particular, is only an abbreviator of Livy, from whom little consequently can be expected. Though Velleius Paterculus advances a little further, yet he is merely an epitomiser: and as Justin, who flourished in the reign of the emperor Antoninus Pius, only abridged the history of Trogus Pompeius, which he did not continue, we cannot, therefore, expect any information from him relative to the birth of Christ. These facts will account for the silence of the generality of pagan writers concerning the events related in the Gospel history: while the express, authentic, and genuine statement of Tacitus already given furnishes an indisputable testimony to the fact that Jesus Christ lived and was crucified during the reign of Tiberius, and thus completely refutes the absurd and ignorant assertion,—(an assertion, indeed, so truly absurd as to be unworthy of notice, were it not that its effrontery may impose on the unwary) which has been lately made, viz. that it is not now known at what year between A. D. 60. and 100. the name of Christ was first heard of in Europe, and in that part of Asia which is contiguous to Europe and the Mediterranean sea: and that it is evident from all existing testimony that it was not before the year 60!

“ 3. *Of the few remaining historians, who wrote about the ages in question, most were engaged on other subjects; to which it is to be added, that no profane historians, whether Jews or Heathens, take notice of ALL occurrences.* Thus, the obscurity of the sun at Julius Cæsar’s death, which is said to have lasted a whole year, is not noticed by any Roman author except the poets Ovid and Virgil, and the philosopher Pliny: yet ten historians or more, in the following century, wrote lives of Cæsar, and gave an account of his assassination and of several things that occurred after it. A similar prodigy is reported by Cedrenus to have happened in the reign of the emperor Justinian; but there were nearly twenty considerable writers between that time and Cedrenus, who mentioned no such thing. Neither Tacitus, Justin, nor Strabo, who have particularly spoken of the Jews, have noticed the existence of the Jewish sect of the Essenes: nay even Josephus, the Jewish historian, is totally silent concerning them in his two books against Apion, though he has mentioned them in his other writings. Yet, will any one pretend that there were no Essenes, either before or in the time of Christ?—Again, neither Herodotus nor Thucydides, nor any other Greek writers of that time, have taken any notice of Rome, though the conquests of the Roman people were then extended far and wide, and the Romans were become great and formidable. Suetonius wrote the lives of the first twelve Roman emperors: yet, if we compare his relations with the events recorded by other historians, we shall find that he has omitted many important transactions that were obvious. Now, to apply this to our present purpose:—It is true that none of the heathen historians of imperial Rome have spoken of the celebrated census in the time of Augustus, which is mentioned by Luke (ii. 1, 2.): yet it does not follow that it did not actually take effect, since we see it is not unusual for historians to pass by some persons and things which are very remarkable and



deserve to be recorded. If then some matters, which are mentioned by the evangelists, are not noticed in other histories, we cannot, with any reason, conclude from them, that the evangelists have recorded that which is false. No such thing can be inferred: for, even among pagan writers, there are many peculiar historical passages related by some of them, concerning which the rest are totally silent. Tacitus and Valerius Maximus, for instance, have narrations which are not to be found in any other Roman historians, and yet they are not suspected of falsehood. Why then may we not credit those things which are recorded in the New Testament, although no Gentile historians make any the slightest mention of them? Nay, the evangelical historians themselves do not all relate the same things: though all of them have mentioned some passages, yet there are others, which are noticed only by one or two of the evangelists: and there are some things or persons concerning which they are wholly silent, but which are as remarkable as some of those which they have committed to writing. Thus, the gospels speak of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and also of the Galileans and Herodians; and yet they take no notice whatever of the Essenes by name, though they were at that time a considerable sect among the Jews. It is no reasonable objection, therefore, to the New Testament, that some things occur in it, which are not to be found in very approved authors. No history, whether sacred or profane, relates every thing. The evangelists themselves do not pretend to do this: we cannot, therefore, expect to find *all* the actions of Christ recorded in their writings; for one of them who wrote last of all, thus expresses himself towards the close of his gospel:—*And there are many other things which Jesus did; the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written.* (John xxii. 25.)

“4. *Several of the facts, relating to Christ and his miracles, coming from Jews, would be slighted as fabulous by the Gentile writers, especially considering, on the one hand, how common prodigies and magical stories were in that day: and, on the other hand, how superstitious and credulous the Jews were reputed to be. And as the scene of Christ's actions lay at a great distance from Greece and Italy, and authentic accounts of his miracles could not soon be transmitted thither, the learned Greeks and Romans would regard the first reports of them as idle or incredible tales. Besides, it was foreign to the purpose of any author who wrote the life of a Roman emperor, or the history of a celebrated war, or the annals of a particular state, to describe minutely a religious sect, begun in Judea by one who was rejected as a deceiver in his own country. Or, if his subject led such a writer to mention the Christian religion, its doctrines, miracles, and disciples, he would naturally speak of them in such a manner as he himself felt affected towards them: and in what sovereign contempt the first Christians were held, by the generality of profane writers, many of the passages adduced from their works, in the preceding pages, sufficiently attest. Lastly, the Christian scheme of doctrines and moral duties was so contrary to the received*

tenets and maxims of the heathen, that it cannot excite surprise that many of them cared but little to inquire into evidences and facts relating to it. Many, however, who *did* inquire, doubtless became Christians; their testimony, therefore, is not to be reckoned here.

“ One single example will illustrate the three last observations. The preternatural darkness of three hours, which prevailed in the land of Judea at the time of Christ’s crucifixion, and which has been recorded by three of the evangelists, is unnoticed by any profane historian: from which circumstance Mr. Gibbon has taken occasion to insinuate that the evidence of the evangelists is not sufficient to establish the truth of facts, unless it is supported by the concurrent testimony of pagan contemporary writers. Speaking of that darkness, he expresses his surprise that this miraculous event ‘*passed without notice in an age of science and history. It happened,*’ he adds, ‘*during the life-time of Seneca and the elder Pliny, who must have experienced the immediate effects, or received the earliest intelligence of the prodigy.*’ Each of these philosophers, in a laborious work, has recorded *all the great phenomena of nature, earthquakes, meteors, comets, and eclipses, which his indefatigable industry could collect.* Both the one and the other have omitted to mention the greatest phenomenon to which the mortal eye has been witness since the creation of the globe. *A distinct chapter of Pliny is devoted to eclipses of an extraordinary nature and unusual duration; but he contents himself with describing the singular defect of light which followed the murder of Cæsar, when, during the greatest part of the year, the orb of the sun appeared pale and without splendour.* \* The sentences printed in italic, are those in which the sceptical historian has had recourse to those misrepresentations which unhappily pervade too many of his splendid pages.

“ On this passage we remark, *first*, that the eclipse being confined to Judea, its *immediate effects* could not *necessarily* have been experienced by Seneca or Pliny, neither of whom could have been on the spot in the reign of Tiberius, when the eclipse took place: nor can it be proved, that they had immediate information from all parts of the globe as soon as any extraordinary phenomenon had taken place. Secondly, neither Pliny nor Seneca have left any words that correspond to the historian’s pompous description. Seneca does *not* treat on eclipses at all, in the passage referred to; † he speaks indeed of *earthquakes*, but only in a very cursory manner, and does not instance more than four or five, because his object was evidently not to write a history of them, but to investigate their symptoms, causes, and prognostics. The same remark applies to Pliny with respect to earthquakes. They are mentioned only to introduce philosophical observations. The historian, therefore, has but very feeble proofs to support his assertion. We may reasonably imagine, that if Seneca and Pliny have recorded all the great phenomena of nature, they must of course have explored the Grecian and Roman histories, which were immedi-

\* Decline and Fall, vol. ii. p. 379.

† Nat. Quæst. lib. vi. c. i. Op. tom. 4. pp. 309—312. edit. Bipont.

ately open to their inquiries. Now, let us try an experiment as to what they have derived from those sources with respect to eclipses. Do they mention the total eclipse of the sun, when the celebrated plague happened at Athens, in the first year of the Peloponnesian war? Do they mention the solar eclipse on the day when the foundations of Rome were laid? Do they mention the eclipse foretold by Thales, by which a peace was effected between the Medes and the Lydians? It would be too tedious and useless to ask for many others, which might be mentioned without any fear of our questions being answered in the affirmative. *Thirdly*, the *distinct chapter* of Pliny, in which, according to the historian's lofty representation, we should expect to find the subject of eclipses exhausted, by his full and elaborate detail, consists of only *eighteen words*, the purport of which is, that eclipses of the sun are sometimes of extraordinary duration; such as that which took place on the death of Cæsar, and during the war with Antony, when the sun appeared pale for nearly a year.\* *Lastly*, this miraculous preternatural darkness did *not* pass without notice. For, if Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius are to be credited, it was circumstantially mentioned by Phlegon, a pagan chronologist, who flourished in the reign of the emperor Hadrian;† and if Julius Africanus, a writer of great eminence and probity, who flourished at the beginning of the third century, is to be believed, an eclipse, which corresponds with the time of the passion, was recorded by Thallus.‡ Though doubts have been started by the learned, who are certainly at variance respecting these testimonies (which doubts the historian has greatly exaggerated, by positively asserting that Phlegon's testimony is given up); yet unless it can be *proved* that the citations in Eusebius and Julius Africanus never existed in the original works of Phlegon and Thallus, we are surely justified in giving them credit. But independently of their testimonies, there are two others not founded on the statements of Phlegon and Thallus, which unequivocally confirm the evangelical history of the darkness at the crucifixion, viz. those of Tertullian and Celsus. In his *Apology for the Christians*, which was addressed to their heathen adversaries, Tertullian expressly says, '*At the moment of Christ's death the light departed from the sun, and the land was darkened at noon-day*; WHICH WONDER IS RELATED IN YOUR OWN ANNALS, AND IS PRESERVED IN YOUR ARCHIVES TO THIS DAY.'"§ If the account of this extraordinary darkness had not been registered, Tertullian would have exposed both himself to the charge of asserting a falsehood (which charge was never brought against him), and also his religion, to the ridicule of his enemies. It is further particularly worthy of remark, that the darkness and earthquake at the crucifixion are both explicitly recognized and mentioned as FACTS

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\* *Fiunt prodigiosi, et longiores solis defectus: qualis occiso dictatore Cæsare, et Antoniano bello, totius pæne anni pallore continuo.* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. c. 30. tom. i. p. 148. edit. Bipont.

† See Lardner's Works, vol. vii. pp. 370—387. 8vo.; or vol. iv. pp. 58—67. 4to.

‡ Ibid. § Tertullian, Apol. c. 21.

by that acute adversary of Christianity, Celsus; who would not have made such an admission, if he could have possibly denied them.\*

"In addition to the preceding observations, we may state that many good and solid reasons may be assigned why the profane writers have *not* made mention of the darkness at the crucifixion, which, it is now generally admitted, was confined to the land of Judea. The most obvious is, that they might have no sufficient information of it. The provinces of the Roman empire were very extensive, and we find, in general, that the attention of writers was chiefly confined to those which were nearest to the metropolis. The ancient historians and biographers are remarkably concise, and seldom stop to mention occurrences, which, although they may have happened during the times of which they write, have no relation whatever to their main subject. This was their general rule, and there is no reason for which it should be violated merely to indulge the caprice of the captious, or satisfy the scruples of the petulant. There is no more reason in the nature of the thing itself why the testimony of the profane writers should be called for to support the sacred, than the sacred should be called for to support the profane. We may then retort the argument, and in our turn ask the historian, and those who have lately circulated his false account of the progress of Christianity, how they can credit the accounts given by Paterculus, Pliny the elder, Valerius Maximus, and Seneca, when Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John take not the least notice of them? But let it be supposed that the Roman writers had received information of the fact in question, it is most probable that they would have considered it as a natural occurrence, being accustomed to earthquakes and darkness for whole days together, in consequence of the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius. Or, supposing that they had believed it to be a preternatural darkness, would it have been consistent with their principles as heathens to have mentioned it? They must plainly have foreseen what great advantage would have been given to Christianity by it. Their readers would naturally have been led to inquire into the character of the extraordinary person, at whose death the laws of nature were infringed; and this inquiry, as it would have opened a more complete view of the new dispensation, must have led to their conversion. Hence we collect a very satisfactory reason for their silence. Supposing that they knew the fact, and from motives of policy suppressed it, their silence furnishes as strong a proof of its truth as their express testimony could possibly have done.

"Upon the whole, we may venture boldly to assert, that if even this fact be destitute of support from the profane writers, it is a deficiency which may easily be dispensed with. We believe many things upon the evidence of one credible witness. But in the case before us, we have no less than *three*, whose knowledge of the fact was *never* denied, whose veracity is indisputable, and integrity not to be impeached. So plainly are the characters of truth marked upon their writings, that every person of common discernment must see them, and he who is not satisfied as to the certainty of what they relate,

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\* See Origen contr. Celsum, lib. ii. § 55. p. 94.

must give up all pretensions to a sound judgment, and be abandoned to the incurable obstinacy of his own forlorn scepticism.\*

"An example taken from English history will confirm and illustrate the preceeding observations. No one in our days, who has read the whole history of the popish plot in Charles the Second's time, with any candour and attention, believes it. The incoherence, and every way incredible circumstances of the whole deposition, together with the infamous characters of the witnesses, preclude an assent. Yet, a circumstance to this day unaccounted for—the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey,—happened to give it an air of probability. Yet he would be thought injudicious to the last degree, who should thence be inclined to favour the evidence of Titus Oates. The case before us is opposite, indeed, but parallel. Christianity stands supported by evidences of the most unexceptionable nature; yet the circumstance of Seneca's and Pliny's silence concerning the eclipse or preternatural darkness (admit it only for argument's sake) is unaccountable. The evidence of the Gospel is, however, by no means shaken, nor will be shaken, till it can be proved that we must be able to account for every thing in an event, before we admit the testimony of the event itself.

"In short, there is no history in the world, more certain and indubitable, than that contained in the Christian Scriptures, which is supported by the concurring testimony,—not to say of so many men, but of so many different nations, divided, indeed, among themselves in other particulars, but all uniting to confirm the truth of the facts related in the gospels. And therefore, even though the Christian institution had perished with the apostles, and there were not in the world at this day so much as one Christian, we should have the most unquestionable evidence that the persons and actions, recorded in the Gospels, and attested by the concurring voice of all nations, really existed in the country of Judea during the reign of Tiberius, as the evangelists have assured us." (Vol. i. p. 230—238.)

To the examples adduced in this extract may be added a new and very curious instance brought to light by the researches of the learned, excellent, and indefatigable Bishop of St. David's, an interesting account of which has been drawn up by his lordship in a small work now lying before us, printed for private circulation, but not published, and which could not have been known to our author when this part of his work went to press.† A celebrated decree of the Spartan senate, it is well known, censured Timotheus the musician for composing a poem unbecoming the Eleusinian mysteries, and for corrupting the ancient music by increasing the seven strings of the lyre to eleven; which superfluous number the innovator was commanded to retrench, lest

\* Kett's Bampton Lectures, Notes and Authorities, pp. xxiv.—xxii.

† On arriving at the conclusion of the fourth volume of Mr. Horne's work, we find that the Bishop's tractate, though so recently printed, has not escaped his vigilance. A brief reference is made to it, and the instance in question adduced, in the author's elaborate summary of the argument for and against 1 John v. 7.

the variety of the new music should conduce to luxury and effeminacy, and be injurious to public virtue. This decree, though passed several centuries before the Christian era, and though noticed by Cicero and other authors, is not expressly quoted,—where, from its nature, we might naturally have expected it—by any of the writers on ancient music, or on the Greek dialects, or on law and government, till the time of Boethius, the Roman philosopher, best known for his work *De Consolatione*, who, in his book *De Musica*, first gave a copy of the decree itself, in the Spartan dialect, nearly a thousand years after it was enacted. The learned Bishop adduces the fact as a strong argument to shew that the silence of several of the earlier Greek and Latin fathers, respecting the celebrated passage 1 John v. 7, is no proof that it was wanting in their copies of the Greek testament. It may be urged with equal force in the present instance; for it was far more likely that classical writers on music, or ancient law, or dialects, should, some or all of them, have adverted to this curious decree, which, from its peculiar style and subject-matter, and the memorable occasion of its passing, could scarcely have failed, we might have thought, to arrest the attention of persons who were treating on these topics, than that Greek and Latin historians should have troubled themselves much about a despised foreign sect, or their adorable founder, veiled as he was in the garb of humanity, and born after the flesh, among a people whose manners and opinions had little to attract the notice of the writers of classical antiquity.

But we must return to our author, from whose remarks on the collateral testimony furnished by coins, medals, and ancient marbles, we shall quote the concluding passage,—the last which we shall be able to extract from his first volume. After mentioning several striking instances of this collateral species of testimony, he proceeds to comment as follows on the triumphal arch of Titus, illustrating his subject by some new and ingenious instances in the notes appended to the passages.

“ Lastly, the triumphal arch erected at Rome by the Senate and Roman people in honour of the emperor Titus, (which structure is still subsisting, though greatly damaged by the ravages of time), is an undeniable evidence to the truth of the historic accounts, which describe the dissolution of the Jewish state and government, and also relate the conquest of Jerusalem. This edifice likewise corroborates the description of certain vessels used by the Jews in their religious worship, which is contained in the Old Testament. In this arch, are still distinctly to be seen the golden candlestick, the table of shew-bread, with a cup upon it, and the trumpets which were used to proclaim the year of jubilee. And there are several medals of Judea van-

quished, in which the conquered country is represented as a desolate female, sitting under a tree, and which afford a striking illustration of the first verse of the Lamentations of Jeremiah.\*

"It would not have been difficult to adduce numerous additional testimonies from medals and inscriptions, which have been collected and described by various learned modern travellers, who have explored Greece and Asia Minor: but the length to which this chapter has already unavoidably extended, forbids the production of further evidences of this kind.—Stronger testimonies than these it is impossible to bring for the credibility of any fact recorded in history,—even of the important transactions which have taken place in our own days on the continent of Europe, and to which the British nation has been a party. Yet, notwithstanding this cloud of witnesses, it has lately been affirmed that Jesus Christ was a mythological character,† and that the four Gospels are mere fabrications and romances. With as much truth may it be said that the man, whose ambition so lately disturbed the peace of Europe, is a mythological person who never had any real existence. For the events of his career are recorded in a variety of documents, purporting to be issued by the different governments of Europe, which have been quoted or alluded to by various daily and periodical journals, as well as by contemporary historians, who profess to record the transactions of the last twenty-five years; and they are also perpetuated by structures‡ and medals,§ which have been executed in order to commemorate particular victories or other transactions." (Vol. i. p. 243, 244.)

\* The best engravings of the arch of Titus are to be found in Hadrian Reland's treatise, *De Spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani, in Arcu Titiano Romæ conpositis*. Ultrajecti, 1716, 4to. Tolerably well executed copies of Reland's plates may be seen in Schulze's *Compendium Archæologiæ Hebraicæ*, tab. i. ii. iii. pp. viii.—x. Dresdæ, 1793, 8vo.; and also in the Fragments annexed to Calmet's Dictionary, no. cxiii. pp. 14—17.

† The assertion of the writer above alluded to was taken, without acknowledgment, from Volney, who first made it at the close of his 'Ruins of Empire,' and who was refuted by the late Rev. Peter Roberts, in a learned volume, entitled 'Christianity Vindicated,' in a Series of Letters addressed to Mr. Volney, in answer to his Book called "Ruins." 8vo. London, 1800. This is only one instance, out of many, that might be adduced, of the total destitution of candour in the opposers of revelation; who continue to re-assert the long since refuted falsehoods of former infidels, as if they had never before been answered.

‡ Such is the Waterloo Bridge over the river Thames, which is said to commemorate the victory of Waterloo, obtained by British prowess, in 1815, over the forces of Buonaparte. Such also is the triumphal column, erected in the Place Vendôme, at Paris, to commemorate the victories of the French army in Germany, in 1805, and which, according to a Latin inscription engraved thereon, is composed of the brass-cannon conquered from the enemy during a campaign of three months.

§ Of this description are the 'Waterloo Medals,' distributed by order of parliament, and at the expence of the British nation, to the illustrious general and the brave officers and soldiers who were engaged in the memorable battle of Waterloo; and also the beautiful series of medals lately struck under the direction of Mr. Mudie, to commemorate the achievements of the British army; to which may be added the series of French medals, usually called the Napoleon Medals, executed for the purpose of commemorating the achievements of the French armies.

The argument on the genuineness, authenticity, uncorrupted preservation, and inspiration of the holy Scriptures, is followed by an ample view of the argument afforded by miracles and prophecy; and by a discussion of the *internal* evidence of their inspiration, from the sublimity and excellence of their doctrines,—the purity of their moral precepts,—the harmony which subsists between all their parts,—their preservation to the present time,—their tendency to promote the temporal and eternal happiness of mankind, as evinced by an historical review of the beneficial effects actually produced in every age and country by a cordial reception of the Bible;—to which is added a refutation of the numerous objections urged against the sacred writings in recent deistical publications. A copious appendix is subjoined to this volume, comprising a particular examination of the miracles supposed to have been wrought by the Egyptian magicians, and of the *contradictions* falsely alleged to exist in the Scriptures;—such as contradictions historical and chronological; contradictions between prophecies and their accomplishment; contradictions in morality; apparent contradictions between the sacred writers themselves, and between sacred writers and profane; and lastly, seeming contradictions to philosophy and the nature of things. This comprehensive discussion is followed by a table of the chief prophecies relative to the Messiah, both in the Old and New Testament, and an examination of the Apocryphal books of the Old and New Testament. The topics which we have ~~thus~~ briefly enumerated occupy nearly five hundred closely printed pages, the contents of which it would be impracticable for us, in our limited space, to abstract; especially as the work itself is a condensed abstract of whole libraries of former authors, who have treated on the subjects discussed in it, and whose invaluable labours in vindication of the Scriptures might appear at first sight to have rendered those of the present writer superfluous. Indeed Mr. Horne seems himself to have originally thought so; for in the former impression of his work, which we have compared *passim* with the present, he gave only a brief outline of the general argument in favour of the Scriptures, and referred his readers for further information to a few of the most valuable treatises on the subject, being unwilling, as he states, unnecessarily to augment their number. In preparing the second edition for the press, he states that it was his original intention to condense his former remarks, and to subjoin to them a few additional considerations; but he was induced to deviate from his design by the extensive circulation of infidel publications, whose avowed object was, by specious insinuations, and the unblushing re-assertion of oft-refuted objections, to undermine and subvert the religion of Jesus Christ;—“the pillar of society, the safeguard



of nations, the parent of social order; which alone has power to curb the fury of the passions, and to secure to every one his rights; to the laborious, the reward of their industry; to the rich, the enjoyment of their wealth; to nobles, the preservation of their honours; and to princes, the stability of their thrones." The author further states himself to have been called upon by name from the press (in consequence, we conclude, of his useful and seasonable work published two or three years since, entitled "*Deism Refuted, or Plain Reasons for being a Christian*"), to consider and refute, if he could, the objections urged against the Sacred Writings. Thus summoned, he felt it his duty not to shrink from the task; and as the antagonists of the Scriptures have in some degree varied the ground of their attacks, he indulged a hope, and we think justly, that a temperate discussion of the subject, expressly accommodated to the present times, would not be unacceptable to biblical students, who may be called upon, both to defend their own faith, and to strengthen that of others, against the insidious attacks of infidelity. He adds, that to his own mind the result of his laborious inquiries has been highly satisfactory; for, not having access to all the numerous and able defences of Christianity against the infidels of former ages, he was obliged to examine, in many cases *de novo*, the innumerable contradictions alleged to exist in the Scriptures; all of which he found to disappear when subjected to a candid and attentive examination. The gross and illiberal manner in which most of the publications in question have been executed, seemed indeed to place them below the contempt of every gentleman and scholar; but we agree with the author, that nothing is beneath notice that is calculated to mislead the ignorant and unwary; besides which, some of the objections urged by the writers in question are so speciously expressed, or, to use a common phrase, *so well put*, that they really demanded considerable information and research to prove their falsehood. This remark may apply to the works of all writers of all ages. It would be easy, for example, to take up any Greek or Latin classic, and roundly to assert, with very little labour, and in half a dozen lines, that they contain certain gross mistakes, inconsistencies, anachronisms, &c. which charges even a good and ripe scholar might be days or weeks in satisfactorily disproving, and which the uneducated will, of course, be disposed to believe on the confident *dictum* of the assertor. Mr. Horne's labours, therefore, are not by any means superfluous; and we are glad to find, that while the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and other respected institutions, as well as individual clergymen and laics, have not thought it derogatory to their character to arm the poor against the infidel wiles of writers whom it would stain our paper to

name, Mr. Horne has prepared a panoply for persons of education, and given to the world a new "Scholar armed" against the attacks of modern infidelity. His first volume may indeed be considered the most comprehensive *Demonstratio Evangelica* in our language. In point of arrangement, it is far superior to the celebrated work of that name by the learned Huet; and, as far as we perceive, not a single objection of any importance, which the perverse ingenuity of modern sceptics has been able to raise against the sacred writings, has escaped the author's vigilance, or remained unrefuted.

The variety and importance of the subjects discussed in the first volume have detained our attention so long on them, that we can offer only a very measured notice of the remainder of the work.

The second volume is divided into two parts. The *first* of these parts treats of sacred criticism, including an historical and critical account of the original languages of Scripture, and of the Cognate dialects;—an account, (with numerous fac-similes) of *the principal Manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments, with a bibliographical and critical Notice of the chief printed Editions, and of the division into chapters and verses; after which follow a History of ancient and modern Versions, and their Application to biblical Criticism and Interpretation; illustrated with fac-simile specimens of oriental versions executed at the Serampore press.* In this part of the work, the history of *the authorised English Version* is particularly considered, and the literary character of its venerable translators satisfactorily vindicated against the cavils of some late writers. The benefit to be derived from Jewish and Rabbinical authors is next discussed, and the genuineness of some important statements of Josephus, the Jewish historian, ably vindicated. These discussions are followed by dissertations on the following list of topics:—1. *On the various readings in the Sacred Text, with a digest of the chief critical Canons for weighing and applying them.* 2. *On the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, with new tables of the quotations at length, in Hebrew, Greek, and English; shewing, first, their relative agreement with the Hebrew and with the Septuagint; and, secondly, whether they are prophecies cited as literally fulfilled; or prophecies typically or spiritually fulfilled; or prophecies accommodated; or simple allusions to the Old Testament; and, 3. On the Poetry of the Hebrews; its construction, its nature, and its different species, with rules for understanding it.* The recent publication of Mr. Jebb, entitled "Sacred Literature," being an application of the principles of Hebrew poetry to the New Testament, has enabled Mr. Horne to enrich this chapter with much new and interesting matter, not to be found in the first

edition of his work.\* 4. On Harmonies of the Scriptures, including remarks on the principles on which they should be constructed.

The second part of the volume is appropriated to the interpretation of Scripture; and comprehends—An investigation of its different senses, literal, spiritual, and typical, with rules for ascertaining and determining them;—the *signification of words and phrases*, with rules for investigating them;—*emphatic words*; rules for the investigation of emphases, and particularly of the Greek article;—subsidiary means for ascertaining the sense of Scripture, such as the analogy of languages, parallel passages, scholia, glossaries, the subject-matter, context, scope, historical circumstances, and Christian writers, both fathers and commentators.

The author next advances to an application of the preceding principles to the historical interpretation of the sense of Scripture;—the interpretation of its figurative language, comprehending the principles of interpretation of tropes, figures, allegories, parables, and proverbs;—the spiritual or mystical interpretation;—the *interpretation of prophecy, including rules for ascertaining the sense of the prophetic writings, observations on the accomplishment of prophecy in general, and especially of the predictions relative to the Messiah*;—the interpretation of the types; of the doctrinal and moral parts of Scripture; and of the promises and threatenings therein contained; and lastly, *the inferential and practical reading of the Sacred Writings*. The copious Appendix subjoined to this volume contains, among other valuable articles, bibliographical and critical notices of the principal grammars and lexicons of the Hebrew, Greek, and Cognate languages;—of the remarkable editions of the Septuagint Greek version of the Old Testament; of the principal writers on the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures; and a select list of commentators and expositors of the Bible, with notices of their works.

Such are the contents of the second volume. All those chapters, the titles of which we have given in Italics, are pre-eminently valuable to biblical students, and particularly the

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\* We cannot let pass by this opportunity without strongly recommending Mr. Jebb's work to the study of all persons interested in biblical and philological pursuits. The learned author has indeed opened a new mine of "Sacred Literature," in which he has not only discovered much valuable ore himself, but enabled others to dig for more with abundant prospect of success. We are inclined to think he has, in some instances, pushed his system a little too far; but in the main, it rests on the substantial basis of sound criticism, and will prove a valuable subsidiary in the interpretation of the evangelical text. The literary and classical merits of the work, though great, are subordinate to the importance of its principal argument, which is to throw a new and interesting light on the structure and interpretation of the New Testament.

chapter on various readings, and that on the quotations from the Old Testament in the New. Indeed there is not a chapter or section in this volume which does not afford materials for selection. We are compelled, however, to restrict our extracts to a single passage relative to a subject which has greatly exercised the ingenuity, as it has divided the opinions of philosophers and critics; we mean the testimony of Josephus respecting our blessed Lord. Mr. Horne has brought forward the adverse opinions and arguments in a concise form, and, we think, with triumphant effect. Let our readers judge for themselves.

“ The passage in question is as follows:

“ ‘ Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man: for he performed many wonderful works. He was a teacher of such men as received the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many of the Jews, and also many of the Gentiles. This man was the Christ. And when Pilate at the instigation of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those who had loved him from the first, did not cease to adhere to him. For he appeared to them alive again on the third day; the divine prophets having foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of the Christians, so named from him, subsists to this time.’ \*

“ This passage has already been given in Vol. I. p. 215, as a proof of the credibility of the New Testament history: it is repeated in this place, in order that it may be more conveniently subjected to the test of critical examination. The genuineness and credibility of this testimony have been questioned, on the ground that it is too favourable, to be given by a Jew to Christ; and that, if Josephus did consider Jesus to be the Christ or expected Messiah of the Jews, he must have been a believer in him, in which case he would not have dispatched the miraculous history of the Saviour of the World in one short paragraph. When, however, the evidence on both sides is fairly weighed, we apprehend that it will be found to preponderate most decidedly in favour of the genuineness of this testimony of Josephus: for

“ 1. It is found in all the copies of Josephus's works, which are now extant, whether printed or manuscript; in a Hebrew translation preserved in the Vatican Library,† and in an Arabic Version preserved by the Maronites of Mount Libanus.

“ 2. It is cited by Eusebius, Jerome, Rufinus, Isidore of Pelusium, Sozomen, Cassiodorus, Nicephorus, and by many others, all of whom had indisputably seen various manuscripts, and of considerable antiquity.

“ 3. Josephus not only mentions with respect John the Baptist,‡ but also James the first bishop of Jerusalem.—‘ Ananus’ (he says) ‘ assembled the Jewish Sanhedrin, and brought before it JAMES the

\* Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. iii. § 9.

† Baronius (Annals Ecclesiastici, ad annum 134) relates that the passage in this Hebrew Translation of Josephus was marked with an obelus, which could only have been done by a Jew.

‡ Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. v. § 2.

*Brother of Jesus who is called Christ, with some others, whom he delivered over to be stoned as infractors of the law.\** This passage, the authenticity of which has never been disputed or suspected, contains an evident reference to what had already been related concerning Christ: for why else should he describe James,—a man, of himself but little known,—as the brother of Jesus, if he had made no mention of Jesus before?

"4. It is highly improbable that Josephus, who has discussed with such minuteness the history of this period,—mentioned Judas of Galilee, Theudas, and the other obscure pretenders to the character of the Messiah, as well as John the Baptist and James the brother of Christ,—should have preserved the profoundest silence concerning Christ, whose name was at that time so celebrated among the Jews, and also among the Romans, two of whose historians (Suetonius and Tacitus) have distinctly taken notice of him. But, in all the writings of Josephus, not a hint occurs on the subject except the testimony in question.

"It is morally impossible that this passage either was or could be forged by Eusebius who first cited it, or by any other earlier writer. Had such a forgery been attempted, it would unquestionably have been detected by some of the acute and inveterate enemies of Christianity: for both Josephus and his works were so well received among the Romans, that he was enrolled a citizen of Rome, and had a statue erected to his memory. His writings were also admitted into the imperial library: the Romans may further be considered as the guardians of the integrity of his text; and the Jews, we may be assured, would use all diligence, to prevent any interpolation in favour of the Christian cause. Yet it cannot be discovered that any objection was ever made to this passage, by any of the opposers of the Christian faith in the early ages: their silence therefore concerning such a charge is a decisive proof that the passage is not a forgery. Indeed, the Christian cause is so far from needing any fraud to support it, that nothing could be more destructive to its interest, than a fraud so palpable and obtrusive.

"To this strong chain of evidence for the genuineness of Josephus's testimony, various objections have been made, of which the following are the principal:

"OBJECTION 1. *This passage was not cited by any early Christians before Eusebius, such as Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, or Origen: nor is it cited by Chrysostom or Photius, who lived after his time.*

"ANSWER.—There is no strength in this negative argument against Eusebius, drawn from the silence of the antient fathers. The fathers did not cite the testimony of Josephus, 1. either because they had no copies of his works; or 2. because his testimony was foreign to the design which they had in writing; which was, to convince the Jews that Jesus was the Messiah, out of the Old Testament, and consequently they had no need of other evidence; or 3. because, on account

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\* Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. viii. (al. ix.) § 1.

of this very testimony, the evidence of Josephus was disregarded by the Jews themselves.\*

“OBJECTION 2. *The passage in question interrupts the order of the narration, and is unlike the style of Josephus.*

“ANSWER.—It is introduced naturally in the course of the historian’s narrative, the order of which it does *not* disturb. It is introduced under the article of Pilate, and connected with two circumstances, which occasioned disturbances; and was not the putting of Jesus to death, and the continuance of the apostles and disciples after him, declaring his resurrection, another very considerable circumstance, which created very great disturbances? And though Josephus does not say this in express terms, yet he intimates it, by connecting it with the two causes of commotion, by giving so honourable a testimony to Jesus, and telling us that he was crucified at the instigation of the chief persons of the Jewish nation. It would scarcely have been decent in him to have said more on this head. The following view of the connexion of the passage now under consideration, will confirm and illustrate the preceding remarks.

“In his Jewish antiquities (Book xviii. c. i.) he relates, in the first section, that Pilate introduced Cæsar’s images into Jerusalem, and that in consequence of this measure producing a tumult, he commanded them to be carried thence to Cæsarea. In the second section, he gives an account of Pilate’s attempt to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, the expense of which he defrayed out of the sacred money: this also caused a tumult, in which a great number of Jews was slain. In the third section he relates that, *about the same time* Pilate crucified Jesus, who was called Christ, a wise and holy man: (§ 4.) *about the same time also*, he adds, another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder, which he promises to narrate after he had given an account of a most flagitious crime which was perpetrated at Rome in the temple of Isis: and after detailing all its circumstances he proceeds (§ 5.) agreeable to his promise, to describe the expulsion of the Jews from Rome, by the emperor Tibcrius, in consequence of the villanous conduct of four of their countrymen. Such is the connexion of the whole chapter: and when it is fairly considered, we may safely challenge any one to say, whether the passage under consideration interrupts the order of the narration: on the contrary, if it be taken out, that connexion is irrecoverably broken. It is manifest, that Josephus relates events in the order in which they happened, and that they are connected together only by the time when they took place.

“With regard to the objection that the passage in question is unlike the style of Josephus, it is sufficient to reply in the quaint but expressive language of Huet, that *one egg is not more like another than is the style of this passage to the general style of his writings.* Objections from style are often fanciful: and Daubuz has proved, by actual collation, the perfect coincidence between its style and that of Jose-

\* The above refuted objection is examined in detail by Professor Vernet, in his *Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne*. tome ix. pp. 165—221.

phus in other parts of his works.\* This objection, therefore, falls to the ground.

"OBJECTION 3.—*The testimony of Josephus concerning Jesus could not possibly have been recorded by him: for he was not only a Jew, but also rigidly attached to the Jewish religion. The expressions are not those of a Jew, but of a Christian.*

"ANSWER.—Josephus was not so addicted to his own religion, as to approve the conduct and opinion of the Jews concerning Christ and his doctrine. From the moderation which pervades his whole narrative of the Jewish war, it may justly be inferred, that the fanatic fury which the chief men of his nation exercised against Christ, could not but have been displeasing to him. He has rendered that attestation to the innocence, sanctity, and miracles of Christ, which the fidelity of history required: nor does it follow that he was necessitated to renounce on this account the religion of his fathers. Either the common prejudices of the Jews, that their Messiah would be a victorious and temporal sovereign, or the indifference so prevalent in many towards controverted questions, might have been sufficient to prevent him from renouncing the religion in which he had been educated, and embracing a new one, the profession of which was attended with danger: or else, he might think himself at liberty to be either a Jew or a Christian, as the same God was worshipped in both systems of religion. On either of these suppositions, Josephus might have written every thing which this testimony contains; as will be evident from the following critical examination of the passage.

"The expression,—*"if it be lawful to call him a man,"*—does not imply that Josephus believed Christ to be God, but only an extraordinary man, one whose wisdom and works had raised him above the common condition of humanity. He represents him as having *"performed many wonderful works."* In this there is nothing singular, for the Jews themselves, his contemporaries, acknowledge that he wrought many mighty works. Compare Matt. xiii. 54. xiv. 2, &c. and the parallel passages in the other Gospels. Josephus further says, that *"he was a teacher of such men as gladly received the truth with pleasure,"*—both because the moral precepts of Christ were such as Josephus approved, and also because the disciples of Christ were influenced by no other motive than the desire of discerning it. *"He drew over to him many, both Jews and Gentiles."* How true this was, at the time when Josephus wrote, it is unnecessary to show. The phrase, *"This man was the Christ,"*—or rather, *Christ was this man*" (*ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἐστίν*),—by no means intimates that Jesus was the Messiah, but only that he was the person called Christ both by the Christians and Romans; just as if we should say, *"this was the same man as he named Christ."* *Χριστός* is not a doctrinal name, but a proper name. Jesus was a common name, and would not have sufficiently pointed out the person in-

\* See Daubuz, *Pro Testimonio Josephi de Jesu Christo, contra Tan. Fabrum et alios*, (8vo. Lond. 1706.) pp. 128—205. The whole of this Dissertation is reprinted at the end of the second volume of Havercamp's edition of Josephus's works. Mr. Whiston has abridged the collation of Daubuz in Dissertation I. pp. v.—vii. prefixed to his translation of the Jewish historian, folio, London, 1737.

tended to the Greeks and Romans. The name, by which he was known to them, was *Chrestus*, or *Christus*, as we read in Suetonius and Tacitus; and if (as there is every reason to believe) Tacitus had read Josephus, he most probably took this very name from the Jewish historian. With regard to the resurrection of Christ, and the prophecies referring to him, Josephus rather speaks the language used by the Christians, than his own private opinion: or else he thought that Christ had appeared after his revival, and that the prophets had foretold this event,—a point which, if admitted, and if he had been consistent, ought to have induced him to embrace Christianity. But it will readily be imagined, that there might be many circumstances to prevent his becoming a proselyte; nor is it either new or wonderful that men, especially in their religious concerns, should contradict themselves and withstand the conviction of their own minds. It is certain that, in our own times, no one has spoken in higher terms concerning Christ, than M. Rousseau; who nevertheless, not only in his other writings, but also in the very work that contains the very eloquent eulogium alluded to, inveighs against Christianity with acrimony and rancour.\*

“The whole of the evidence concerning the much litigated passage of Josephus is now before the reader; who, on considering it in all its bearings, will doubtless agree with the writer of these pages, that it is GENUINE, and consequently affords a noble testimony to the credibility of the facts related in the New Testament.” (Vol. ii. pp. 313—317.)

The third volume, comprised in four parts, contains a summary of biblical geography and antiquities. It is enriched throughout with very numerous illustrations of the sacred writings, drawn from the Greek and Latin classics, and from the researches of modern travellers. Many of those of the last class are quite new to biblical scholars, being taken from recent works; several of which, from their date, must have been published while this volume was actually passing through the press; so promptly has Mr. Horne availed himself of every new source of biblical information.

The following is a brief summary of the contents of this admirable epitome of biblical geography and antiquities:—Part I. contains an outline of THE HISTORICAL AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND—including its name, boundaries, successive

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\* Appendix to the Life of Dr. Lardner, Nos. IX. and X. 4to. vol. v. pp. xlv.—xlvi. Works, 8vo. vol. i. pp. cly.—cxlviii. Vernet, *Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne*, tom. ix. pp. 1—236. Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, Propositio III. vol. i. pp. 46—56. Bretschneider's *Capita Theologiæ Judæorum Dogmaticæ*, e Flavii Josephi Scriptis collecta (8vo. Lipsiæ 18) pp. 59—61. See also *Vindiciæ Flavianæ*, or a Vindication of the Testimony given by Josephus concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ. By Jacob Bryant, Esq. 8vo. London, 1780. Dr. John Jones has shown that Josephus has alluded to the spread of Christianity in other parts of his works; see his “Series of important Facts, demonstrating the Truth of the Christian Religion, drawn from the writings of its friends and enemies in the first and second centuries,” (8vo. London, 1820.) pp. 9—22. He considers the Jewish historian as a Christian.



political divisions, a topographical account of the city of Jerusalem, a description of Jewish climate, seasons, productions, deserts, &c. We shall exhibit to our readers an example of the success with which Mr. Horne has laid under contribution the ample stores of modern voyagers and travellers for the illustration of biblical literature. We allude to his elucidation of the horrors of the Great Desert traversed by the Israelites after their departure from Egypt. The passage will furnish a general specimen of the interesting manner in which he enriches his descriptions by new and entertaining, as well as highly apposite citations:—

“The vast *Desert of Arabia*, reaching from the eastern side of the Red Sea to the confines of the land of Canaan, in which the children of Israel sojourned after their departure from Egypt, is in the sacred writings particularly called **THE DESERT**; very numerous are the allusions made to it, and to the divine protection and support, which were extended to them during their migration. Moses, when recapitulating their various deliverances, terms this desert *a desert land and waste howling wilderness* (Deut. xxxii. 10.)—and *that great and terrible wilderness*, wherein were *scorpions and drought, where there was no water* (Deut. viii. 15.) The prophet Hosea describes it as a *land of great drought* (Hos. xiii. 5.) But the most minute description is that in Jer. ii. 6.—*a land of deserts and of pits, a land of drought, and of the shadow of death\**, *a land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt*. These characteristics of the desert, particularly the want of water, will account for the repeated murmurings of the Israelites both for food and water (especially the latter†): and the extremity of their sufferings is thus concisely but most emphatically portrayed by the psalmist. (cvii. 15.)‡

“*Hungry and thirsty, THEIR SOUL FAINTED in them.*

“In this our temperate climate, surrounded as we are with perpetual verdure and with every object that can delight the eye, we can scarcely conceive the horrors encountered by the hapless traveller when crossing the trackless Sands, and exposed to all the ardours of a vertical sun. The most recent as well as the most graphic description of a desert (which admirably illustrates the passages above cited), is that given by the enterprising traveller M. Belzoni, whose researches have contributed so much to the elucidation of the sacred writings. Speaking of a desert crossed by him in Upper Egypt, on the western side of the Red Sea, and which is parallel with the great desert traversed by the Israelites

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\* This expression has exercised the ingenuity of commentators, whose opinions are recited by Mr. Harmer (Observations, vol. iv. pp. 115, 116), but the correctness of the prophetic description is confirmed by the existence of a similar desert in Persia. It is a tract of land broken into deep ravines, destitute of water, and of dreariness without example. The Persians have given to it the extraordinary but emphatic appellation of *Malck-el-Moaddereh*, or the *Valley of the Angel of Death*. (Mörner's Second Journey, p. 168.)

† See particularly Num. xx. 2—5. and xxi. 5.

‡ In the *Christian Observer* for 1810, pp. 1—9. there is a new and elegant version of the hundred and seventh psalm, accompanied with critical and explanatory notes, from the pen of Mr. Archdeacon Jebb.

on the *eastern* side of that sea, he says, 'It is difficult to form a correct idea of a desert, without having been in one: it is an endless plain of sand and stones, sometimes intermixed with mountains of all sizes and heights, without roads or shelter, without any sort of produce for food. The few scattered trees and shrubs of thorns, that only appear when the rainy season leaves some moisture, barely serve to feed wild animals, and a few birds. Every thing is left to nature; the wandering inhabitants do not care to cultivate even these few plants, and when there is no more of them in one place, they go to another. When these trees become old and lose their vegetation, the sun which constantly beams upon them, burns and reduces them to ashes. I have seen many of them entirely burnt. The other smaller plants have no sooner risen out of the earth than they are dried up, and all take the colour of straw, with the exception of the plant *karack*; this falls off before it is dry.

" 'Generally speaking, in a desert, there are few springs of water, some of them at the distance of four, six, and eight days journey from one another, and not all of sweet water: on the contrary, it is generally salt or bitter; so that, if the thirsty traveller drinks of it, it increases his thirst, and he suffers more than before. But, when the calamity happens, that the next well, which is so anxiously sought for, is found dry, the misery of such a situation cannot be well described. The camels, which afford the only means of escape, are so thirsty, that they cannot proceed to another well: and, if the travellers kill them, to extract the little liquid which remains in their stomachs, they themselves cannot advance any farther. The situation must be dreadful, and admits of no resource. Many perish, *victims of the most horrible thirst*. It is then that the value of a cup of water is really felt. He that has a *zenzabia* of it is the richest of all. In such a case there is no distinction. If the master has none, the servant will not give it to him; for very few are the instances, where a man will voluntarily lose his life to save that of another, particularly in a caravan in the desert, where people are strangers to each other. *What a situation for a man, though a rich one, perhaps the owner of all the caravans!* He is dying for a cup of water—no one gives it to him—he offers all he possesses—no one hears him—they are all dying—though by walking a few hours farther they might be saved. If the camels are lying down, and cannot be made to rise—no one has strength to walk—only he that has a glass of that precious liquor lives to walk a mile farther, and perhaps dies too. If the voyages on seas are dangerous, so are those in the deserts. At sea, the provisions very often fail; in the desert it is worse; at sea storms are met with; in the desert there cannot be a greater storm than to find a dry well:—at sea, one meets with pirates—we escape—we surrender—we die: in the desert they rob the traveller of all his property and water; they let him live perhaps, but what a life! to die the most barbarous and agonising death. In short, *to be thirsty in a desert, without water, exposed to the burning sun without shelter, and NO HOPES of finding either, is the most terrible situation that a man can be placed in, and one of the greatest sufferings that a human being can sustain: the eyes grow inflamed; the tongue and lips swell; a hollow sound is heard*

*in the ears, which brings on deafness, and the brains appear to grow thick and inflamed ;—all these feelings arise from the want of a little water. In the midst of all this misery the deceitful morasses appear before the traveller at no great distance, something like a lake or river of clear fresh water.\* If perchance a traveller is not undeceived, he hastens his pace to reach it sooner ; the more he advances towards it, the more it goes from him, till at last it vanishes entirely, and the deluded passenger often asks, where is the water he saw at no great distance ? He can scarcely believe that he was so deceived ; he protests that he saw the waves running before the wind, and the reflection of the high rocks in the water.*

“ If unfortunately any one falls sick on the road, there is no alternative ; he must endure the fatigue of travelling on a camel, which is troublesome even to healthy people, or he must be left behind on the sand, without any assistance, and remain so till a slow death come to relieve him. What horror ! What a brutal proceeding to an unfortunate sick man ! No one remains with him, not even his old and faithful servant ; no one will stay and die with him, all pity his fate, but no one will be his companion.”†

“ The phenomenon, here described, is produced by a diminution of the density of the lower stratum of the atmosphere, which is caused by the increase of heat, arising from that communicated by the rays of the

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\* Terrific as the above description is, it is confirmed in most of its details by Quintus Curtius ; who, describing the passage of Alexander the Great and his army across the deserts of Sogdiana, thus graphically delineates its horrors :—“ Amidst a dearth of water, despair of obtaining any kindled thirst before nature excited it. Throughout four hundred stadia not a drop of moisture springs. As soon as the fire of summer pervades the sands, every thing is dried up, as in a kiln always burning. Steaming from the fervid expanse, which appears like a surface of sea, a cloudy vapour darkens the day. . . . The heat, which commences at dawn, exhausts the animal juices, blisters the skin, and causes internal inflammation. The soldiers sunk under depression of spirits caused by bodily debility.” Quint. Curt. lib. vii. c. 5.

† Belzoni's Narrative of his Operations and Researches in Egypt, &c., (4to. London, 1820.) pp. 341—343. In another part of his volume, Mr. B. more particularly describes the *mirage* (for such is the appellation by which this phenomenon is now commonly known), in the following terms : “ It generally appears like a still lake, so unmoved by the wind, that every thing above is to be seen most distinctly reflected by it. If the wind agitate any of the plants that rise above the horizon of the mirage, the motion is seen perfectly at a great distance. If the traveller stand elevated much above the mirage, the apparent water seems less united and less deep ; for, as the eyes look down upon it, there is not thickness enough in the vapour on the surface of the ground to conceal the earth from the sight ; but, if the traveller be on a level with the horizon of the mirage, he cannot see through it, so that it appears to him clear water. By putting my head first to the ground, and then mounting a camel, the height of which from the ground might have been about ten feet at the most, I found a great difference in the appearance of the mirage. On approaching it, it becomes thinner, and appears as if agitated by the wind, like a field of ripe corn. It gradually vanishes, as the traveller approaches, and at last entirely disappears, when he is on the spot.” (p. 196.) Dr. Clarke has described the mirage, as it appeared to him on his journey to Rosetta, in 1801. (Travels, vol. iii. p. 371.) Similar descriptions, but none so full as that of Mr. Belzoni, may be seen in Elphinstone's Account of the kingdom of Caubul (p. 16. 4to. London, 1815.) ; Kinneir's Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire (p. 223, 4to. London, 1813) ; and in Lieut. Pottinger's Travels in Beloochistan and Sind. (p. 185. 4to. London, 1816.)

sun to the sand with which this stratum is in immediate contact. This phenomenon existed in the great desert of Judæa, and is expressly alluded to by the sublime and elegant Isaiah,\* when, predicting the blessings of the Messiah's spiritual kingdom, says:—

*"The glowing sand † shall become a pool,  
And the thirsty soil bubbling springs.*

"And it is not improbable that Jeremiah refers to the serâb or mirage when, in pouring forth his complaint to God for mercies deferred, he says, *Will thou be altogether unto me as waters that be not sure* (marginal rendering of Jer. xv. 18), that is, *which have no reality*, as the Septuagint translators have rendered it, *ὕδωρ ψευδὲς οὐκ ἔχει πῖνον*.

"Frightful as the horrors of the deserts are, they are augmented beyond description, should the traveller be overtaken by one of those sand storms, which prevail during the dry seasons. Sometimes the high winds raise into the air thick clouds of dust and sand, which, descending like a shower of rain, most grievously annoy all among whom they fall, and penetrate the eyes, nostrils, ears, in short every part of the human frame that is exposed to it. At other times the sands are drifted into such heaps, that, if any storm of wind should arise, the track is lost, and whole caravans perish in the inhospitable wilderness. Such are the showers of *powder and dust*, with which Moses denounced that God would scourge the disobedient Israelites, in Deut. xxviii. 24."‡ (Vol. iii. pp. 53—57.)

The second part of this volume treats of THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS of the Jews and other nations mentioned in Scripture—including *the political state* of the Jews from the patriarchal times to the Babylonish captivity; under the Ashmonœan princes, the sovereigns of the Herodian family, and the Roman procurators;—the *Jewish courts of judicature*; the *principles of the criminal law of the Israelites*; their legal proceedings and punishments;—the *Roman judicature*, manner of trial, and treatment of prisoners, as mentioned in the New Testament—*crucifixion*, comprising a particular illustration of the circumstances attending the crucifixion of our Saviour—Jewish and Roman modes of computing time—tribute money—forms of making covenants and contracts; *military state* of the Jews and other nations—namely, the composition and discipline of their armies, their mode of warfare, their treatment of the conquered, and their military trophies and triumphs.

Part III. discusses THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND SACRED AFFAIRS of the Jews, and other nations incidentally mentioned in the Scriptures, arranged under the heads of *sacred places*—including

\* Isa. xxxv. 7. Bishop Lowth's translation.

† The phenomenon referred to by Isaiah, is termed by the Arabs, as well as by the Hebrews *סערה* (*searâ*); and to this day the Persians and Arabs make use of it, by an elegant metaphor, to express disappointed hope.

‡ Fragments Supplementary to Calaneo's Dictionary, No. 172.

the tabernacle and its contents—the temple of Solomon and the second temple—the synagogues and their service:—*sacred persons*—comprising an account of the Jewish church and its members—the Levites, priests, high priests, prophets, Nazarites, Rechabites, and other persons consecrated by vows:—*sacred times and rites* observed by the Jews,—their ordinary worship, sacrifices, prayers, fasts, the Sabbath, and great annual festivals of the passover, day of pentecost, feast of tabernacles, day of atonement, feasts of Purim, and dedication of the second temple, the sabbatical year and year of jubilee;—*corruptions of religion among the Jews*—their idolatry, and Jewish sects—together with a description of the moral and religious state of the Jews at the time of our Saviour's advent.

Part IV. is appropriated to a consideration of the PRIVATE LIFE, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, MANUFACTURES, &c. of the Jews and other nations; including *marriages and nuptial ceremonies*—divorces—birth and education of children—*slaves, their condition and duties*—houses and furniture—dress—food and entertainments—private intercourse and forms of civility and politeness—mode of travelling—hospitality to strangers—studies, literature, sciences, and philosophy—*agriculture and rural economy*—manufactures—trade and navigation—festivities, theatrical and other amusements—diseases—art of medicine—*funeral rites and mourning for the dead*.

The appendix to this volume contains, in addition to chronological and other tables, a geographical index of the principal places mentioned in the Bible, especially in the New Testament, including an abstract of profane oriental history from the time of Solomon to the captivity, illustrative of the history of the Hebrews as referred to in the prophetic writings, and presenting historical notices of the Assyrian, Chaldee, Median, and Persian empires.

We fear we may have wearied our readers by these summary enumerations; but having undertaken to notice such a publication as the present, it seemed both unjust to the author, and unsatisfactory to those who wish to know what his work contains, not to present a brief outline of its principal features. We claim to ourselves the privilege of reviewing books and authors, either in the antiquated or in the modern manner; either as critics or as essayists; either making the book an apology for our own remarks, or making our remarks subservient to the book, as the case may require. In the present instance we have preferred analysing our author's volumes to writing a dissertation of our own; which, however, our readers are at liberty to conclude we could have done with admirable effect, if it had fallen in with our inclination.

If we do not transgress in the same manner till another equally exempt occasion presents itself, we shall probably not repeat our offence for many years to come; for, seriously speaking, we know not when we are likely again to see such a mass of valuable and multifarious biblical matter distilled into any single work. In the volume immediately before us, which the author modestly entitles only "*A sketch of biblical geography and antiquities*," it will be found that few, if any, essential topics connected with sacred antiquities have been omitted. In our enumeration of the contents of this volume, we have printed in italics the titles of several chapters which appeared to us peculiarly interesting and well-executed. We shall subjoin one passage as a specimen of the whole; and which must be our last quotation. The author is speaking of the discipline and military triumphs of the Romans.

"The strictest subordination and obedience were exacted of every Roman soldier. An allusion to this occurs in Matt. viii. 8, 9; to understand which it is necessary to state a few particulars relative to the divisions of the Roman army. Their infantry were divided into three principal classes, the *Hastati*, the *Principes*, and the *Triarii*, each of which was composed of thirty *manipuli* or companies, and each manipulus contained two *centuries* or hundreds of men; over every company were placed two centurions, who however were very far from being *equal* in rank and honour though possessing the same office. The triarii and principes were esteemed the most honourable, and had their centurions elected *first*, and these took precedence of the centurions of the *Hastati*, who were elected *last*. The humble centurion, who besought the aid of the compassionate Redeemer, appears to have been of this last order. He was a *man under authority*, that is, of the *Principes* or *Triarii*, and had none *under* him but the hundred men, who appear to have been in a state of the strictest military subordination, as well as of loving subjection to him. *I am*, said the centurion, *a man under authority, having soldiers under me, and I say to this man, Go, and he goeth, and to another Come, and he cometh; and to my slave* (Τῷ δούλῳ μου), *Do this, and he doeth it*. The application of his argument, addressed to Christ, seems to be this:—If I, who am a person subject to the controul of others, yet have some so completely subject to myself, that I can say to one, *Come, and he cometh*, &c., how much more then canst thou accomplish whatsoever thou wilt, being under no controul, and having all things under thy command.\*

"There are two striking passages in Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, which greatly illustrate this speech of the centurion:—Speaking of the Saturnalia, he says—'We agreed to play Agamemnon and Achilles. He who is appointed for Agamemnon says to me—'Go to Achilles, and force away Briseis.'—I go.—'COME.'—I come.'†—Again, discoursing on all things being under the divine inspection, he says:—

\* Dr. A. Clarke on Matt. viii. 9.

† Arrian's Epictetus, book i. c. 25. § 1. (Mrs. Carter's translation, vol. i. p. 113.)

'When God commands the plants to blossom, they bear blossoms. When he commands them to bear seed, they bear seed. When he commands them to bring forth fruit, they put forth their fruit. When he commands them to ripen, they grow ripe. When he commands them to fade and shed their leaves, and to remain inactive, and involved (or contracted) within themselves, they thus remain and are inactive.' \*

"Nor is the military subordination adverted to by the centurion without its (almost verbal) parallel in modern times in the East: Kirtee-Rañah, a captive Ghoorkha chief, who was marching to the British head-quarters,—on being interrogated concerning the motives that induced him to quit his native land, and enter into the service of the Rajah of Nepal,—replied in the following very impressive manner:—*'My master, the rajah, sent me: He says to his people,—to one, 'Go you to Gurwah,' to another, 'Go you to Cashmire, or to any distant part,'—My Lord, thy slave OBEYS; it is DONE.'*—None ever inquires into the reason of an order of the rajah.' †

"In his epistle to Timothy, who appears to have been greatly dejected and dispirited by the opposition he met with, St. Paul animates him to fortitude, and among other directions encourages him to ENDURE HARDSHIP as a good soldier of Jesus Christ (2 Tim. ii. 3.)—and what hardship a Roman soldier supported, the following passage in Josephus will abundantly evince. It is the most striking commentary upon this text that ever was written. 'When they march out of their encampment, they advance in silence and in great decorum, each man keeping his proper rank just as in battle. Their infantry is armed with breast-plates and helmets, and they carry a sword on each side. The sword they wear on their left side is by far the longest, for that on the right is not above a span's length. That select body of infantry, which forms part of the general's life-guards, is armed with lances and bucklers, but the rest of the phalanx have a spear and a long shield, besides which they bear a saw and a basket, a spade and a hatchet; they also carry with them a cord, a sickle, a chain, and provisions for three days! so that a Roman foot-soldier is but very little different from a BEAST OF BURDEN.' ‡

"It is well known that the Roman soldiers were not allowed to marry: by this prohibition the Roman providence, as much as possible, studying to keep their military disembarassed from the cares and dis-

\* Arrian's Epictetus, book i. c. 14. Raphellii Annotationes in Sacrum Scripturam, ex Herodoto, &c. vol. i. pp. 242, 243.

† Fraser's Notes on the Hills at the Foot of the Himala Mountains, p. 226, London, 1820, 4to.

‡ Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 5. § 5. The following particulars collected from Roman authors, will confirm and illustrate the statements of Josephus;—*'The load which a Roman soldier carried, is almost incredible (Virg. Georg. iii. 346. Horat. Sat. ii. 10.); victuals, (cibaria) for fifteen days (Cic. Tusc. ii. 15, 16.), sometimes more (Liv. Epit. 57.), usually corn, as being lighter, sometimes drest food (coctus cibus, Liv. iii. 27); utensils, (utensilia, ib. 42.), a saw, a basket, a mattock, an axe, a hook, and leathern thong, a chain, a pot, &c. (Liv. xxviii. 45. Horat. Epod. ix. 13.), stakes, usually three or four, sometimes twelve (Liv. iii. 27); the whole amounting to fifty pounds weight, besides arms: for a Roman soldier considered these not as a burden but as a part of himself (arma membra milites ducebant. Cic. Tusc. ii. 16).'*—Adam's Roman Antiquities, p. 377.

tractions of secular life. To this law the apostle refers: *no one that warreth, ENTANGLETH HIMSELF WITH THE AFFAIRS OF THIS LIFE; that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier.* (2 Tim. ii. 4.)\*

"The names of those who died or were cashiered for misconduct, were expunged from the muster-roll. To this custom, probably, the following text alludes: in this view the similitude is very striking, *I will not BLOT OUT his NAME out of the BOOK of life,* (Rev. iii. 5.)†

"The triumphant advancement of the Christian religion through the world. St. Paul compares to the irresistible progress of a victorious army, before which every fortified place, and all opposition, how formidable soever, yielded and fell. (2 Cor. x. 4.) "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God ‡ to the pulling down of strong holds: casting down imaginations, and every thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.§ Having spoiled principalities and powers, he made & shew of them openly, triumphing over them.

"By a very striking metaphor, taken from the pay of a soldier, he represents the wages with which SIN rewards those who fight under her banners, to be certain and inevitable death. The WAGES || OF SIN is DEATH.

"Our Lord in that wonderful prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem accurately represents the Roman manner of besieging and taking towns,—which was by investing the place, digging a deep trench round it, and encompassing it with a strong wall, to prevent escape, and consume the inhabitants by famine. *The days shall come upon thee that thine enemies shall cast a TRENCH about thee, and COMPASS thee ROUND, and keep thee in on every side: and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee, and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation.* (Luke xx. 42, 43.)

"In expatiating upon the difficulties and distresses with which the

\* Τοις δὲ στρατευομένοις, ἐπειδὴ γυναικας οὐκ ἀδυνατο ἐκ γὰρ τῶν νομῶν ἔχειν. Dion Cassius, lib. ix. p. 961. Reimar. Tacitus speaking of some Roman veterans says: Neque conjugis suscipiendis neque alendis liberis sueti. Taciti Annales, tom ii. lib. xiv. cap. 27. p. 210. Dublin.

† It is however possible that this allusion may be drawn from civil life, in which case the meaning of the above-cited passage will be this:—As in states and cities, those who obtained freedom and fellowship were enrolled in the public registers, which enrolment was their title to the privileges of citizens; so the king of Heaven, of the new Jerusalem, engages to preserve in his register and enrolment, in the book of life, the names of those, who, like the faithful members of the church of Sardis, in a corrupted and supine society, shall preserve allegiance, and a faithful discharge of their Christian duties. He will own them as his fellow citizens, before men and angels. Compare Matt. xx. 32. Luke xii. 8. See also Psal. lxxix. 28. Ezek. xlii. 9. Exod. xxxiii. 33. Dan. xii. i. Mal. iii. 16. Luke x. 20. Dr. Woodhouse on the Apocalypse, p. 84.

‡ Δυνατὰ τῷ Θεῷ, exceeding powerful. Moses is called αἰσος τῷ Θεῷ, exceeding beautiful, Acts viii. 20.

§ See the conquest of the Gospel and its triumph over idolatry in a very striking manner represented by Eusebius, lib. x. p. 468. Cantab.

|| Rom. vi. 23. Οὐλομα, the pay of a soldier. Οὐλομα τῇ στρατιᾷ.—καταργημάτων ἀργυρίων: Bringing money to pay the army. Dion. Halicarn. tom. i. p. 568. Οὐλον. Λαβὼν οὐλομα τὴ καὶ τ' ἀλλὰ οὐλον εἶναι τῇ στρατιᾷ. p. 567.



first preachers of the Gospel conflicted, the apostle Paul in a strong figure compares their situation to that of an *army pent up* in a narrow place—*annoyed on every side*—but not totally *precluded* from an *escape*\*—their condition to the last degree *perplexed* and *wretched*, yet not altogether *desperate* and *forlorn*. (2 Cor. iv. 8.) We are *troubled on every side*, yet not *distressed*; we are *perplexed*, but not in *despair*.

“Once more, as among the other military honours and recompences, rich and splendid *crowns*,† frequently of *gold*, were publicly bestowed upon the illustrious conqueror, and upon every man, who, acting worthy the Roman name, had distinguished himself by his valour and his virtue—in allusion to *this* custom how beautiful and striking are those many passages of sacred Scripture, which represent Jesus Christ, before *angels* and the whole assembled *world*, acknowledging and applauding distinguished piety, and publicly conferring *crowns* of immortal *glory* upon *persevering* and *victorious* holiness. *Be thou faithful unto death; I will give thee a CROWN of life*. (Rev. ii. 10.) *Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried, he shall receive the CROWN of life* (James i. 12.), which the Lord hath promised to them that love him. *When the chief shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a CROWN of glory that fadeth not away*. (1 Pet. v. 4.) *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a CROWN of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day: and not to ME only, but unto ALL them also that love his appearing*. (2 Tim. iv. 8.)

“V. But the highest military honour that could be conferred in the Roman state was a *triumph*, or solemn procession, with which a victorious general and his army advanced through the city to the capitol; and which was the most grand and magnificent spectacle ever beheld in antient times. After a decisive battle gained, and the complete conquest of a kingdom, the most illustrious captives in war, kings, princes, and nobles, with their wives and children, to the perpetual infamy of this people, were, with the last dishonour and ignominy, led in fetters before the general's chariot, through the public streets of Rome; scaffolds being every where erected, the streets and public places crowded, and this barbarous and uncivilised nation all the while in the highest excesses of joy, and in the full fruition of a spectacle that was a reproach to humanity. Nor was only the ‡ sovereign of large

\* *Εν περὶ θλιβομένοις ἀλλ' οὐ στενδομένοις.*

† *Σταφάνους ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις σὺγχους—χρυσούς εἰλαβὴς*: He received several crowns of gold on account of his victories. Dion Cassius, lib. xlii. p. 334. edit. Reimar. Vid. etiam notas Fabricii ad loc. *Τοῖς δὲ δι' ναυκράτησας καὶ σφάσας εἰλαβεῖν δόνας*; To those who had conquered in the naval engagement he gave crowns of olive. Lib. xlix. p. 597. See also pp. 537. 580. So also Josephus says that Titus gave crowns of gold to those who had distinguished themselves in the siege of Jerusalem. *σφάσας καὶ χρυσούς*. Bel. Jud. lib. vii. p. 404. See also p. 412. Havercamp.

‡ Behind the children and their train walked Persens himself [the captive king of Macedonia,] and wearing sandals of the fashion of his country. He had the appearance of a man overwhelmed with terror, and whose reason almost staggered under the load of his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of friends and favourites, whose countenances were oppressed with sorrow; and who, by fixing their weeping eyes continually upon their prince, testified to the spectators,

and opulent kingdoms, the magnanimous hero \* who had fought valiantly for his country and her liberties, the weak and tender sex, born to an happier fate, and young children † insensible of their wretched condition, led in triumph; but vast numbers of waggons, full of rich furniture; statues, pictures, plate, vases, vests, of which they had stripped palaces and the houses of the great; and carts loaded with the arms they had taken from the enemy, and with the coin of the empires they had conquered, pillaged, and enslaved, preceded the triumphal car. On this most splendid occasion, imperial Rome was a scene of universal festivity: the temples were all thrown open, were adorned with garlands, and filled with clouds of incense and the richest perfumes: the spectators were clothed in white garments: hecatombs of victims were slain, and the most sumptuous entertainments were given. The illustrious captives, after having been dragged through the city in this procession, and thus publicly exposed, were generally imprisoned, frequently strangled and dispatched ‡ in dungeons, or sold for slaves. §—To several of these well-known circumstances, attending a *Roman triumph*, the sacred writers evidently allude in the following passages. In the *first* of which, Jesus Christ is represented as a great conqueror, who, after having totally *vanquished* and *subjugated* all the empires and kingdoms of false religion, and *overturned* the mighty establishments of Judaism and Paganism, supported by the great and powerful, celebrates a most magnificent TRIUMPH over them, *leads* them in procession, openly *exposing* them to the view of the WHOLE WORLD, as the captives of his omnipotence, and the trophies of his Gospel! *Having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them!* ||—The *second* passage, whose beautiful and striking imagery is taken from a *Roman triumph*, occurs 2 Cor. ii. *Now thanks be unto God, who always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us in every place. For we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ, in them that are saved, and*

that it was his lot which they lamented, and that they were regardless of their own. Plutarchi Vitæ, in Æmil. tom. ii. pp. 186, 187. Edit. Briani.

\* Thus, at the conclusion of the second Punic war, the Numidian and Carthaginian captive generals were led in triumph. Appian tom. i. p. 98. edit. Tolli. Amst. 1670. Several kings, princes, and generals were also led in Pompey's triumph.

† Plutarch, in his account of the triumph of Æmilius at the conquest of Macedonia, represents this tragical circumstance in a very affecting manner. The king's children were also led captive, and along with them a train of nurses, and tutors, and governors; all bathed in tears, stretching out their hands to the spectators, and teaching the children to entreat and supplicate their mercy. There were two boys and a girl, whose tender age rendered them insensible to the greatness of their calamity, and this their insensibility was the most affecting circumstance in their unhappy condition. Plutarch. Æmil. tom. ii. p. 186. See also Appian, p. 417. edit. Amst. 1670.

‡ For example. Aristobulus king of the Jews, after having been exposed, and dragged through the city in Pompey's triumph, was, immediately after the procession was concluded, put to death. Tigranes, some time afterwards. Appian de Bellis Mithrid. p. 419. Amst. 1670. See also p. 403.

§ Longe plurimos captivos ex Hierusale ante currum duxit, quibus sub hasta redundavit. Livy, lib. vi. p. 408. edit. Elm. 1634.

|| Coloss. ii. *ἡνικαὶ ἡμεῖς ἡνικαὶ ἡμεῖς*. Leading them in triumph.

in them that perish : to the one we are a savour of death unto death ; and to the other, of life unto life. In this passage, God Almighty, in very striking sentiment and language, is represented as *leading the Apostles in triumph*\* through the world, shewing them every where as the monuments of his grace and mercy, and by their means *diffusing* in every place the *odour* of the knowledge of God—in reference to a triumph, when all the temples were filled with fragrance, and the whole air breathed perfume : and the apostle, continuing the allusion, adds, that this *odour* would prove the means of the *salvation* of some, and *destruction* of others—as in a triumph, after the pomp and procession was concluded, some of the captives were *put to death*, others *saved alive*. † (Vol. iii. p. 222—228.)

The fourth volume, on which we can only touch in passing, is appropriated to an analysis of Scripture. It contains copious critical prefaces to all the canonical books, and synopses of their several contents arranged under the heads of *Title, Author, Date, Canonical Authority, Argument, Scope, Synopsis of Contents, and Style*, with occasional remarks on topics of peculiar difficulty as they occur. In drawing up these synopses, the author has presented as far as possible at one glance, a comprehensive view of the subjects contained in each book. We know not that any question of importance which has been agitated relative to any particular book, whether entirely or in part, has been overlooked. The results of the most learned inquiries of scholars of every age and school, are concentrated in this, and indeed in every other part of the work, divested of that excessive philological speculation and heterodox licentiousness, which characterize the writings of many modern biblical critics, particularly those of the German school. Would that all among

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\* Θριαμβευσεν ημας, Causeth us to triumph; rather, leadeth us about in triumph. Εθριαμβευσθη και ανηρτη. He was led in triumph and then put to death. Appian, p. 403. Anst. 1649. "The Greek word, θριαμβευσεν which we render *causeth us to triumph*, properly signifies to triumph over, or to lead in triumph, as our translators themselves have rightly rendered it in another place, Coloss. ii. 15. And so the apostle's true meaning is plainly this. Now thanks be to God, who always triumpheth over us in Christ: *leading us about in triumph*, as it were in solemn procession. This yields a most congruous and beautiful sense of his words. And in order to display the force of his fine sentiment, in its full compass and extent, let it be observed, that when St. Paul represents himself and others, as being led about in triumph, like so many captives, by the prevailing power and efficacy of Gospel grace and truth, his words naturally imply and suggest three things worthy of particular notice and attention; namely, a contest, a victory, and an open shew of this victory." (Brekell's Discourses, pp. 141, 142.) "While God was leading about such men in triumph, he made them very serviceable and successful in promoting Christian knowledge in every place wherever they came." (Ibid. p. 151.)

† Brugii, Compendium Antiquitatum Græcarum e profanis sacrarum, pp. 107—136.; and his Appendix de Triumpho Romanorum, pp. 415—434.; Lydii Diatriba de Triumpho Jesu Christi in Cruce, pp. 285—300. of his work intitled Florum Sparsio ad Historiam Passionis Jesu Christi (Dordrecht, 1672. 18mo.); Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. pp. 29—34, 47—56.

ourselves had escaped the infection! Would that all our learned editors and translators of continental theologians had been as cautious as Mr. Horne of importing rash and unwarrantable criticisms, to embarrass the mind of unfledged students, and to add to the triumphs of scepticism and infidelity. Would at least, that if they *must* bring over the bane, they had provided sufficient antidotes; and had suffered no sentiment to go forth to the world in any way connected with their name or authority, but such as they would conscientiously undertake to maintain as their own. It is, indeed, important that foreign biblical works containing much valuable matter, should be introduced to the British student; nor, is a translator expected to be responsible for all the offences of his principal; but where those offences are of a very grave character, an editor ought at least to intimate his disapprobation, and, if practicable, the grounds of it, either generally, or in the form of notes, in order that the unwary may not be deceived, nor the orthodox and conscientious distressed, by the rash speculations of such writers as those to whom we allude.

After the foregoing extracts and remarks, we need add no formal declaration of the high opinion we have formed of the character of these volumes. The first idea which they present to the mind is, that of the indefatigable industry and research of the author. The scheme of his work comprises almost every topic of biblical literature, and in filling up his outline he has not only every where concentrated the chief points connected with his subject, but what is of invaluable importance to theological students, he has under each head given an ample list of references to the best authors who have treated on the point under consideration. The work becomes, therefore, not only an excellent text-book, but a biblical dictionary and encyclopædia. We strongly recommend every divinity student to procure an interleaved copy, and to treasure up the chief contents of his daily reading, by means of extracts or references to a corresponding part of Mr. Horne's pages. Such a system pursued for years by our younger clergy, would not only tend to furnish them with interesting topics of study and meditation, and increase their respectability and efficiency in their profession, but would add greatly to the national stock of sound biblical learning, and to the reputation and usefulness of the national church. Opulent laymen could scarcely confer a greater benefit on a clergyman of restricted income, than by placing such a publication as the present on his empty shelves. The work has the superadded merit of being very cheap, considering that it contains an overflowing quantity of well-executed letter-press, with fourteen plates, besides numerous illustrative wood-cuts interspersed.

There is yet one point more which, in this age of theological warfare, we cannot mention without just encomium; we mean that exemption from party spirit which appears throughout the work. The author has evidently felt the responsibility of his undertaking, and has written every page with a salutary fear lest he should mislead himself or his reader, or should prejudice the cause of truth by an unhallowed infusion of human system and party predilection. The work is throughout as temperate and modest, as it is correct and learned; and we trust it will produce a most beneficial influence in turning the attention of the younger clergy in particular to the appropriate studies of their profession, and that the blessing of God will rest upon this and every other undertaking of the pious author.

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ART. VI.—*Letters on the Importance, Duty, and Advantages of Early Rising, addressed to Heads of Families, the Man of Business, the Lover of Nature, the Student, and the Christian.* Third Edition. 12mo. Taylor and Hessey. London, 1820.

WHEN we first took up this little volume, we regarded it as among the many proofs by which the present epoch of literature is characterised, of improvement in authorship, considered as an art, independently of its connexion with the advancement of learning. We took it to be a fresh instance of the ramifications into which the craft and mystery of book-making is subdividing its subjects, in the same manner as other fabrics and manufactures multiply their minute and subordinate processes as they advance towards their perfection. We found also a parallel to these ethics of early rising in the manner in which the young aspirants at the bar are propagating treatises on every relation, duty, dealing, business, practice, or pastime, to which the principles or adjudications of law can be supposed applicable, in the hope that in some twenty years the accidents of litigation may bring their law into practice, whether it be on horse-racing or hackney-coaches. After reading a few pages, however, we found ourselves mistaken. The subject accumulates dignity as it proceeds. The author has made good the promise implied in the title of his book, by proving the importance of the object for which it was written, to the several descriptions of persons to whom it is addressed.

The vehicle adopted by the author for his useful and interesting remarks, is a series of letters to the different members of a family with which he has been residing, among whom the practice of

lying long in bed appears to have obstructed the efficacy and utility of their many amiable characteristics and endowments. The head of this family is the man of business, much engaged in the negotiations of commerce, with a propensity to literature and tasteful pursuits, but unable to indulge it by the surrender of any part of that short interval into which the family practice of late rising had compressed the operative portion of the day. The arguments of the letter-writer, to induce his friend to enter upon a wiser and more beneficial course, are very judicious, and such as, we doubt not, will find their way to the conviction of many whose conscience must second these well-meant and well-executed efforts.

All that is wanting to the author, is a little more vivacity of manner. The subject, it is true, is of grave consequence to the characters of men, to individual usefulness, and to the right order and well-being of society; but its connexion with morality is not so immediate and direct as to invest it with the solemnity of a strictly ethical character. It is among those semi-moral subjects to which the Spectator's manner was so well adapted. A little raillery thrown into the style, would have mellowed and animated the didactical strain of the composition, and have seasoned it with a sort of urbanity by which it would have lost nothing of its cogency, and gained something in attraction and interest.

In these secondary topics of morality, truth is most successful and persuasive, when it plays amusively about the heart, *circum præcordia ludit*. The delicacy of Addison's touch, his gaiety of reproof, his courtesy of satire, his happy combinations of words, and familiar controul of imagery and illustration, with his varied intertexture of narration and admonition, rendered him a formidable antagonist to folly in all its shapes, and to all those habits which, if not in themselves decidedly vicious, are at least the handmaids of vice, and strew the path with flowers by which her votaries proceed to her temple.

The anonymous author of this little work has, however, probably taken the best course in following the bent of his own character and natural train of thought and expression, in his treatment of his subject. To assume the manner and style of another, is rarely a successful experiment, and as he appears to have felt the subject in its most extended connexion with our moral and religious obligations, and with a sensibility as to its consequences which such views would naturally produce in serious dispositions, we can neither be surprised nor displeased at the solemn character of his book. His apology for the grave style of his argument, is to be found in his matter, and in the solidity of the proofs

by which his charges are sustained against the practice to which he opposes himself.

From among these topics, we can select but two or three for special notice, trusting that this little treatise will be heard very generally and widely in its own behalf, as it cannot fail of being of essential service to the family into which it finds admission. It will do no little good, if it urge upon them only the following truth, that the difference between rising at five and at seven o'clock in the morning, for the space of forty years, supposing the person to go to bed at the same hour every night, is nearly equivalent to the addition of ten years to his life, to which passage, borrowed from Doddridge's *Family Expositor*, our author adds the following corollary: "Propose to them, that instead of gaining ten years, the same period be expunged; that it be given up to sleep and inaction; and you will convince them what a treasure may be acquired, and what a loss may be sustained."

We thought it a very sound observation of this writer, that lying late in bed induces *indecision of character*, for certainly there is no custom or habit which keeps a man so long in a fluctuating state of mind, balancing between duty and indulgence, self-accusation and self-surrender, determining and determining still, resolving and resolving only, too near the moment of exertion to slumber quietly, and yet morbidly pushing the moment from him till he sees the account swelled to hours against him. The reasons for early rising, peculiarly applying to the case of a man immersed in business, with a taste for elegant and intellectual pursuits, as the only means of gratifying his laudable inclinations, are very forcibly and ingeniously urged, as will appear by the following extract:—

"Your mercantile engagements completely absorb every minute of the day, and the pleasures of the family circle and social party generally occupy the evening. Where then can you look? If I point you to a part of your life which is spent in a manner that is useless—that is worse than useless—is prejudicial to your mind and destructive of your health, I shall not be asking too much of you, if I only solicit you for one week, to try the experiment which I would recommend. *Rise two hours earlier every morning.* Calculate this. It gives you fourteen hours in a week—an additional day—and your most sanguine wishes would be satisfied by one-seventh of your time being devoted to literary pursuits. I only fear that you have started at the thought of allowing them so much; if so, my dear friend, let me remind you, that after having given you the time, I accompany the present with no stipulations,—it is your own; and you may use it as you please." —(P. 33, 34.)

To the lady of the house, who appears to be in the same de-

linquency with her husband, in respect to the waste of the morning hours, our author thus explicitly and pertinently addresses his useful lecture.

“The secret cause—(if it be right to style it so when writing to one to whom it has long been *revealed*, and in a great measure acted upon)—the secret cause of all that disorder and confusion which prevail in many families, is the want of a systematic arrangement, which will always correct and remove the evil. We often see a vast deal of bustle, an uninterrupted succession of exertions, and a continued round of occupations, and yet scarcely any thing appears to be effected: or, if done, it is so ill-timed and so out of place, that one would almost wish it had been left unattempted. It is the want of method and the want of time that occasion this. Plans are formed, but no thought is previously bestowed upon them, because the design is resolved upon when the execution is needed. And even when there does appear something like wisdom in the intention, some unexpected occurrence intervenes, some hinderance is presented, which disarranges every thing, and throws all into confusion.” (P. 41, 42.)

And again :

“I may perhaps have allotted too large a space of time for previous deliberation. You may tell me, that it requires no such forethought to manage the concerns of a family; and that I am recommending time to be spent in inactivity, which might be turned to much better advantage. You are probably right. But you cannot refuse to grant me, that the time which would be thus gained would enable you to get through the duties of the day, in a manner much more consistent with the principles of good order and proper arrangement. The activity of mind and body that is felt in the morning, would render your occupations much less irksome than they must often prove at a later period of the day. Those employments which succeeded would be conducted better, for however trifling some of them may appear, if they are worth doing at all, they are worth doing well. You will have set an example to your servants and domestics, which will produce an effect that entreaty or threats could never have obtained. Surely no servant would lie in bed when she knew that her mistress was up and active. A principle of shame would operate with all its force, and render her incapable of self-indulgence, when she would receive such a pointed practical reproof. You would provide for the casualities of the day: unexpected hindrances would not disarrange your plans: unlooked for interruptions would still leave you much time upon hand. And one great advantage would be the result. The surplus hours (ah! surplus hours!! my dear madam, for I must believe that you have affixed a few *mental* marks of exclamation after these words,) would afford an opportunity for intellectual improvement. Your favourite authors would again be read. The pursuits of your earlier days, before the cares of a family and the anxieties of a mother were known, would again be indulged in: and thus would you render yourself even still better qualified than at present for your favourite employment,—the instruction of your children.” (P. 43—45.)



Upon the whole, we incline to think that the letters to Mrs. G. the lady of the mansion, where our author had observed the neglect of his favourite maxim so prevalent, are the most interesting and important in the volume. In an age wherein the plan of nature, and it is not too much to say, of Providence, in the appointment to man of his periods of labour, refreshment, and repose, is traversed by a perverse artificial distribution of the twenty-four hours of the day, the remarks of this writer for bringing his female correspondent under better regulation, are a very valuable present to all our British mothers. The bracing and invigorating effort of early rising, both upon mind and body, is placed so convincingly before them, that if this book becomes, as it deserves to be, a very general manual in families where there is at least a principle and a tendency on the side of improvement in virtue and efficiency, we cannot but hope from it a real practical movement towards better things. We think, too, that the long train of maladies, called nervous, for want of a more accurate appellation, is rightly ascribed by our author to the immoderate portion of time which is usually spent in bed. In confirmation of some good reasoning of his own on this point, he quotes a passage from Robinson's *Morning Exercises* with which we were forcibly struck. "This tyrannical habit attacks life in its essential powers; it makes the blood forget its way, and creep lazily along the veins; it relaxes the fibres; unstrings the nerves; evaporates the animal spirits; saddens the soul; dulls the fancy; and subdues and stupifies man to such a degree, that he, the lord of the creation, hath no appetite for any thing in it."

Some of these letters are afterwards addressed to the daughter, and some to the son of the respectable persons with whom the author commenced his correspondence; and each set of letters convey arguments, respectively calculated to operate most persuasively and beneficially upon the parties to whom they are addressed. To the young lady, the lovely hues and fresh delights of morning scenery are set forth with eloquence and feeling. We will produce an example.

"Do you know what you lose, by spending those hours in sleep which might be devoted to the most pleasing and most substantial enjoyment? Only recollect the peculiar fascinations of the morning. Think upon the feelings which they are calculated to excite. Picture to yourself—(and if you imagine I have painted in too glowing colours, rise to-morrow and compare it with the reality, and if there be one tint too vivid, one touch too flattering, destroy the painting and forget the artist,)—picture to yourself a summer morning. The sun rising in all his native majesty, shedding his beams with a gentle influence, which, whilst it predicts their increasing power, teaches us

to value their present mildness. Every object as it catches the first rays of "the powerful king of day," appearing to smile at his approach. The lengthened shadows that shoot across the meadow, slowly diminishing as he advances. The clouds that seemed to check his early progress, gradually yielding to his growing might, and "illumed with fluid gold," disappearing amid "the kindling azure." The glistening dew-drops, "stars of morning," impearling every leaf. Vegetation clothed in a richer verdure, and the variegated flowers in livelier hues. The groves resounding with the melody of the feathered tribes, who appear susceptible of gratitude for the return of the opening day: whilst every animal is in motion, and seems to feel a new satisfaction in the exercise of its active powers and the revival of its capacities for enjoyment." (P. 76—78.)

In aid of these observations, many passages are produced from our poets, as to the merit of which, there may be a difference of opinion, (we cannot say we think the selection happy,) but they are such, as are not unlikely to please and interest the fair and the young. But among the strongest persuasives to those morning exercises and contemplations, the author of this sensible and pious little volume has not omitted the chief, but has made it his principal theme. He has dilated in a very pleasing manner in his letters to the young lady, upon the delightful recreation of tracing the footsteps of the Deity in his brilliant creation, when the morning sun rises from his chambers in the east to repeat his daily and appointed race. He reminds her, that the pleasures resulting from these observations, are increased ten-fold to the real Christian, "who is living up to the exalted privileges which he is permitted to enjoy, and leading a life of consistency with his Maker's will;"—he finds a fresh source of love, and a new spring of gratitude in every thing that surrounds him.

We cannot afford any more space for remarks on this little interesting and useful volume; but we should fail in our duty to the public, if we did not recommend every parent to make it one of the lecture books of his little family; and if he happen to have no time for the perusal of it himself, as his day is at present laid out, we can assure him that it will amply reward the effort, if he rises two hours earlier on the first morning after he has procured the book, to study and digest its contents.

ART. VII.—*Elements of Political Economy.* By James Mill, Esq.  
8vo. Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy. London, 1821.

AN elementary treatise on political economy has long been a desideratum in our literature. Mr. Mill has now supplied that deficiency; and he has supplied it in such a manner, as the degree and species of talent exhibited in his other writings would have led us to expect. His excellencies have been always of a rough and masculine nature; qualifying him rather for grappling vigorously with what is abstruse or complex, than for giving grace to what is obvious, or novelty to what is trite. His intellectual qualities are such as to render him a most effective expounder and powerful apostle of truth, but a weak and innoxious advocate of error. Though he may now and then deceive himself, he disdains to practise the arts by which error can be made generally acceptable. He is at all times ready to sacrifice every grace to extreme precision of ideas and language. His thoughts always present themselves in a strictly logical order, unblended with collateral topics, and unembarrassed with extraneous or ornamental matter. Such rigid self-denying habits of composition may have obstructed his full success in the department of history; but they are the very qualities which are most essential to him who undertakes to explain the principles of an abstract science. It is therefore matter of congratulation to all, who feel an interest in the advancement of political economy, that Mr. Mill should have undertaken the task of presenting to the world a summary of the doctrines of that science, and of the proofs on which they rest. He has thus rendered a greater, though less showy service to the cause of knowledge, than if he had made a positive addition to our store of truths.

The state of a science depends on two things; the degree of perfection to which it has been brought, and the degree in which the knowledge of it is diffused throughout the community. Its general diffusion is intrinsically a positive good; since, if knowledge is valuable, the blessing should be spread as widely as possible: and, besides, it has a direct tendency to promote the discovery of new truths, by rendering a greater number of minds capable of intellectual pursuits, and giving them stronger motives to aspire to intellectual excellence. In many cases, indeed, and in political economy more than in any other, knowledge would be worth little, were there no hopes that the course of time will gradually lead to its general diffusion. The object of political economy is to explain the principles on which the progress of national wealth depends, and thereby to subvert the false and mischievous systems of legislation which have been hitherto

prevalent in the world, as well as to prevent the adoption of similar schemes for the future. How can it accomplish this noble end, till it finds admission into the understandings of the great body of the community? Of what avail is it, that its principles should be cherished by a few enlightened philosophers? It is not to such hands that the government of nations is entrusted. Nay, if by a lucky accident they or their partisans have possession of the reins of power, they will not dare to make their policy completely conformable to their opinions. Rulers can seldom venture to be wiser than those whom they govern. They must yield to popular conviction:—and that conviction is generally the result of partial views, of petty prejudices, and private feelings and interests. Till correct opinions on political economy be generally received, no government, however wise and upright, can avoid being occasionally driven into pernicious measures.

Unfortunately we have too ample proofs, that sound views on this important subject are still comparatively rare in our own country. Whether we turn our attention to the petitions from every quarter of the kingdom, with which the tables of the two houses of parliament have been loaded; or to the evidence produced before committees of the two houses respectively; or to the language lately held at county meetings; or to the extravagancies which we every day hear broached in conversation; what do we find, but rude, incoherent notions, believed and announced with all the confidence of blind unhesitating ignorance? If we look into our statute book, shall we be able to select, in the long course of past centuries, a single parliament which has not given the sanction of law to injurious measures, founded on maxims demonstratively false? Nay, if we raise our eyes to that which is most venerable among us—our bench of judicature,—we sometimes behold men endowed with the greatest talents, and raised by those talents to the highest dignities in the country, promulgating opinions which, for more than half a century, have been satisfactorily refuted. Facts like these clearly show, that an able elementary treatise on political economy is much wanted among us. Such a treatise must contribute powerfully to disseminate correct principles and modes of thinking on the subject. It is indeed almost the only means in our power of counteracting the operation of some causes which have hitherto retarded, and always must, to a certain degree, retard the wide diffusion of the doctrines of this most important branch of knowledge.

Of these causes the principal undoubtedly is the extreme difficulty of the science. It deals not so much with single facts as with general results, which form themselves into long and numerous deductions connected with and modified by each other. Is

it surprising, that we should find it difficult to trace back the complex phenomena of society to their simple elements, so as to determine the final effect of given circumstances amid the various co-operating or counteracting influences to which they are subject? The mind is bewildered by the multiplicity of operations, which go on and must be comprehended simultaneously; it is fatigued before it can reach the end of the long succession of consequences through which it must travel. It can rarely alleviate its labour by a reference to particular facts. The details of statistics have no more connexion with political economy, than a collection of anecdotes has with the philosophy of the human mind. Some of the most elaborate treatises on the science contain not one particular matter of fact; and where matters of fact are brought forward, it is for the purpose not so much of thence deducing principles, as of explaining them by principles previously established. Speculations, which thus require the constant exercise of abstraction and generalization, must make slow progress; because the intellectual talents requisite for the successful prosecution or even distinct comprehension of them, are of rare and laborious attainment.

The difficulty arising from the abstract nature of the doctrines and reasonings of political economy, is further increased by the very close connexion of every one of them with all the rest. Its principles have a greater mutual dependence, and form a more systematic whole, than those of any other department of moral or political philosophy. No part of it can be thoroughly comprehended, unless we have previously mastered, and can at any time take a bird's eye view of the whole science. Erroneous or indistinct conception on one point will spread mist and obscurity far around. If a single stitch is dropped, the whole texture becomes entangled. To acquire the knowledge of such a science demands a much more severe intellectual effort, than where doctrines are in a certain degree isolated, so that some of them may be comprehended, while others of them are neglected or only imperfectly conceived.

It is chiefly in consequence of the systematic character of the science, that its present imperfect state becomes likewise an obstacle to the diffusion of its truths. It is still far from maturity. It is tainted with errors; it exhibits many vacuities, that remain to be filled up. Its doctrines, therefore, have not yet that clear evidence, and do not give each other that complete mutual support, which belongs only to a perfect and compact system. The more a science approaches to perfection, the more easily does it make its way in the world; because there are fewer doubts and obscurities to impede its progress.

These circumstances could of themselves sufficiently account

for the slow diffusion of political economy : but their operation is rendered still more powerful by the little suspicion which the generality of men entertain, that its reasonings involve any thing peculiarly arduous or demand any preparatory discipline. As it treats of the affairs of daily life, and employs only common words, it has the appearance of being level with every man's capacity ; and accordingly every man plunges into its speculations. The crude and ill-defined notions, which he may have previously formed, are adopted as principles : words are used with all the vagueness that talking without thinking is apt to generate : no order is followed : accident presses some particular topic on the attention ; and a few misunderstood facts are framed into a superficial hypothesis. Private interest, too, interferes to aggravate the mischief. It is in times of partial or general distress, that most attention is given to the causes which affect the amount and distribution of national wealth. They who feel the distress most severely, expatiate on its causes the most earnestly. They form some scheme, by which they imagine that the inconveniences, under which they actually labour, might be removed or palliated ; and to such a scheme they adapt the whole system of their belief. Thus the science is corrupted ; and the very occasions which attract the public attention towards it, create at the same time a powerful obstacle to the diffusion of its genuine principles.

The mischief does not stop here. The patrons and concoctors of such crude and partial views never fail to raise a wild clamour against all who differ from them. Unable to defend themselves by reason, they rail against her dictates as vain and delusive theory. They, forsooth, are practical men, while their adversary is a mere dreamer, whose fine-spun arguments must shrink into nothing before solid practical knowledge. Most assuredly these practical philosophers are not theoretical : for a theory is a connected system of opinions, and their notions have no coherence, nothing systematic, nothing consistent ; a theory is logically deduced from premises, and their doctrines, without evidence or apparent bases, are supposed to shine by their own intrinsic light. But, though not theoretical, they are the greatest of all dreamers : they are even unable to distinguish between matters of fact and their own most extravagant suppositions. It has often been remarked that in describing a disease, while a physician confines himself to an unadulterated statement of facts, an ignorant peasant unconsciously introduces a conjecture in almost every phrase. The observation is strikingly applicable to all the practical sectarians that are daily appearing and disappearing in political economy. Their whole language is metaphorical and hypothetical. An hypothesis lurks in every

sentence. If they confined themselves to facts, they would at the worst be harmless triflers: but they constantly launch out into the ocean of conjecture, and forthwith confound their own reveries with the occurrences of the real world. They know of no crime but reasoning. If they do not reason (and they are most wonderfully exempt from such a frailty), they are sure they can never err. Their fundamental maxim is, that the more a man has exercised his faculties, the less likely he is to discover the truth in abstruse matters; and that the more attention he devotes to an inquiry, the less is his chance of success. If you would trace any state of things upwards to its causes, or downwards to its effects, you must not consult men whose life has been in a great measure consecrated to such inquiries, and who have painfully collected all that can throw light on the subject, and have contemplated it in every point of view: no: you must lend a patient and submissive ear to the oracular responses of the farmer, whose knowledge is limited to the state of the adjacent market; or, of the manufacturer, whose thoughts never stray beyond the precincts of his own trade; or, perhaps, of a land-surveyor, who can tell you nothing beyond his mode of estimating rent in this or that district. Such men may be very good witnesses, but they are most incompetent judges. They may know particular facts, and we are willing to learn any such facts from them; but we can discern nothing in a narrow routine of life that qualifies a man for connecting events with general causes, much less can we discern in it any thing that gives him an exclusive right to faith and worship. Alas! what absurdity in political science has been hitherto devised, which has not sought favour and protection under the name of practical knowledge, and in the extremity of distress found shelter in that city of refuge for all who are powerful in asserting but weak in reasoning!

The class of practical men have thus impeded the progress of sound political philosophy in two ways: first, by the corruption which they have introduced into it; and, secondly, by the aversion from it which their clamour has excited in many sober minded persons. This aversion frequently manifests itself in conversation; and its effects may even be traced in some of our most popular periodical publications. In the present state of the world, however, it is vain to attempt to depreciate the science. The subjects of which it treats force themselves upon our attention: nor can any man live and think without adopting some opinions or other concerning them. We must be, and we are, political economists in spite of ourselves. The only option left to us is, whether we shall form our notions rashly, heedlessly, and incoherently, or with consistency and care.

They who have applied to the study of this science, have always felt the want of a work in which they might find a complete view of its doctrines. In this country (and it is only among us that it has been successfully cultivated), its principles have generally been sought and studied in the "*Wealth of Nations*." Far be it from us to diminish in any degree the veneration due to the name of Adam Smith. But, while we place him among the few great illuminators of the world, we have considerable doubts whether his work is fitted for general perusal, and whether it can be perused with much advantage, except by those whose minds have been disciplined by previous habits of reflection. There are several important points which Smith has explained either inaccurately or insufficiently. The doctrine of population, for instance, was not understood till after his death; and it is only within the last ten years that the true doctrine of rent has been explained. His notions on production, on capital, and on some parts of the theory of foreign trade, and of currency, were imperfect; nor was he always steady to them, such as they were. In short, he missed some fundamental truths, which are now known; and he occasionally deviated from his own principles. It is, however, the form, more than the matter of his work, which renders the "*Wealth of Nations*" objectionable as an introduction to the science which it unfolds. The doctrines are not presented in a natural order. Each topic is discussed with logical precision, but the succession of topics is not itself logical. It is, besides, encumbered with digressions and historical disquisitions, which, however valuable to the proficient, perplex the student, and prevent him from seeing the mutual bearings of the different parts of the science. There is no chapter of Adam Smith which will not impart delight and instruction to him who has mastered the difficulties of political economy: but the work is too vast for the comprehension of the uninitiated. Perhaps few books have been so much read and so little understood as the "*Wealth of Nations*."

The unfitness of Mr. Ricardo's treatise to serve as an introduction to this science is still more apparent. That work is intended rather to develop some new doctrines, than to exhibit a full view of the science. Sometimes Mr. Ricardo overloads the subject with explanation and illustration; at other times, he leaves it involved in much obscurity. His arrangement is rambling; his style harsh and deficient in precision. Whatever be the merits of his work, it has few of those qualities which are most desirable in a treatise intended to serve as an introduction to an abstruse science.

Of all the works which preceded Mr. Mill's, that of Mr. Say was infinitely the best calculated to diffuse a general know-



ledge of the doctrines of political economy. Mr. Say's treatise was little known in England till within the last eight or nine years ; it has never been in very general circulation, and it is only lately that a translation of it has been published. It cannot now be considered as representing the true state of the science. Mr. Say never proceeded farther than Adam Smith. He has corrected some vague expressions of that great writer, and pointed out some imperfections in his conceptions, and some inaccuracies in his applications of his own principles. But his amendments are rather those of a critic and a logician, than of a philosopher and a discoverer. Having studied Smith's writings most successfully, and imbibed their true spirit, he has expounded the doctrines of his master perspicuously, placed their evidence in a clear light, and, above all, given them a scientific order unbroken by the introduction of collateral or extraneous matter. That some of his fundamental notions are vaguely expressed, and some of his reasonings inconsistent with his own maxims, are trivial defects : for where is the writer who, in describing an extremely abstract subject, will not occasionally be unable to express with precision conceptions which he can scarcely keep steady before his mind ; or who, in following out a long chain of consequences, will not sometimes suffer a link to drop ? It is a more weighty objection to his work, that it does not comprise the whole of the science. The three great topics of population, capital, and rent, are discussed both imperfectly and inaccurately ; and it is easy to see that the omission or imperfect explanation of these subjects must throw obscurity on many others. Still the merit of Say is great, and much benefit may be derived from the perusal of his treatise. He is the first, so far as we know, who exhibited the doctrines of political economy in an order approaching to that of their natural dependence ; nor is there any work, in which these doctrines, so far as he has grasped them, are more perspicuously explained than in his. He is the only continental writer, to whom the science is at all indebted. In studying him we learn to comprehend Smith better than before. This is the praise of Mr. Say : and neither is the praise to him small, nor the benefit to the world inconsiderable.

The work now before us, considered as an institutional book, is, however, decidedly superior to all that have preceded it. It contains a more complete synopsis of the science—it exhibits the doctrines in a more natural as well as logical order—it states their evidence with greater brevity and precision—and it is unencumbered with collateral disquisitions. As a good elementary book is necessarily incapable of abridgment, we will not pretend to give any summary of Mr. Mill's reasonings. We have said

enough to show the difficulty and importance of the task which he has undertaken; all that we have to do further is to examine in what manner he has executed it.

An essential requisite in such a work is, that it contain all the leading doctrines of the science, and that it do not mix with them other truths, which, however valuable, are merely corollaries. The omission of a primary doctrine introduces obscurity; the want of something is felt, though we do not well know of what; and imperfect explanations are adopted to supply the deficiency. On the other hand, to raise truths of subordinate rank to a level with those in the first line, is scarcely less unfavourable to perspicuity, by disguising from us the real connexions of the ideas and their relative dependence. Mr. Mill has, with great success, avoided both of these defects. The reader will find, in his work, all the general principles which have hitherto been developed on any subject of political economy. "Interest" is the only topic which occurs to us as having been omitted: it ought to have followed immediately the consideration of the profits of capital. The size of the book, compared with the extent of the subject, is a sufficient proof that it is not loaded with superfluous matter.

In an elementary work, arrangement comprehends almost every merit. Upon the easy succession of steps, by which we are conducted from one idea to another, depends both the facility with which we acquire the science, and the tenacity with which we retain it when acquired, and the readiness with which we can at any moment apply it. The misplacing of a single principle interposes a double obstacle to our progress. Its absence where it ought to be, and its presence where it ought not to be, are alike perplexing. There we find a chasm which we cannot leap, and here a wall which we cannot climb. Arrangement extends to the succession of ideas in illustrating the different topics, as well as in the disposition of the topics themselves. In both respects, Mr. Mill's arrangement is perfect. The commodities, which constitute wealth, must be produced. When produced, they must be distributed in certain portions among the members of the community in the shape of wages, profit, or rent. They also pass, by exchange, from one hand to another; and this interchange depends on certain principles, and is followed by certain consequences. After they have been produced, distributed, and exchanged, they are at last consumed; and, in the doctrine of consumption, the theory of taxation will of course form an important subdivision. Such is the natural order of the science; and such is the method which Mr. Mill has adopted—his work being divided into four chapters, devoted respectively to the consideration of Production, Distribution, Interchange, and Consumption. This classification is nearly the same with that

which Mr. Say followed long ago. The chief difference between them is, that the French author has introduced, under the title *Production*, most of the topics which Mr. Mill places under the head of *Interchange*; and he has done so on the ground, that interchange is an encouragement to production. This reason is too refined. Consumption is no less necessary to production than interchange; so that Mr. Say might, on the same principle, have reduced the last of his three divisions, *Production, Distribution, Consumption*, under the first: nay, he might, on a like pretext, have gotten rid of the second also, and thus by refining on his arrangement have destroyed it altogether. The transactions and effects of interchange are, in their nature, essentially distinct from those which are directly involved in production, and as such should be considered apart. Mr. Mill's general classification of the science is therefore an improvement on that of Mr. Say. In the arrangement of the matter in the subordinate divisions, comprehended under each of the general heads, Mr. Mill's superiority to his predecessors is still more apparent.

We should recommend those who are not aware of the degree in which classification has been neglected even by able writers on this science, to compare the different orders followed by Mr. Ricardo and Mr. Mill in their respective works. Mr. Ricardo's treatise contains thirty-one chapters. The first and the twentieth are on value; the second, the twenty-fourth, and the thirty-first, on rent; the fourth and the thirtieth on price; the seventh is on foreign trade; the next ten chapters are on taxation (with the exception of one on tithes); the twenty-second and the twenty-fifth take us back to trade; and in the twenty-ninth we are again entangled in the doctrine of taxation. When subjects are discussed in this manner, scrap by scrap, however sound or original many of the views may be, there is not one reader in twenty who will not be more perplexed than instructed by the book.

The proper selection and arrangement of the doctrines in an elementary treatise facilitate wonderfully the task of setting forth shortly and clearly the evidence on which they rest; for, in all well-connected systems of truths, each seems to flow necessarily from those which precede it, and obscurity and intricacy can seldom arise, except either from the introduction of error, or from attempting to demonstrate a truth before the requisite premises or data have been obtained. Mr. Mill's readers will often be surprised to find, that the proof of doctrines, which they have probably been accustomed to regard as almost inaccessible to plain intellects, is neither tedious nor difficult to follow. Great mischief has been done in this science from the habit of substituting for direct positive proof partial views, which, at the most, could only show, that this or that proposition possessed a certain

degree of probability, or was reconcileable with certain facts. Mr. Mill does not encumber himself with such feeble auxiliaries. His proofs are peremptory. We will not say that they are always conclusive; but they are either conclusive or worth nothing at all. This is the general character of his reasoning. There are only a few cases in which he has chosen to rest his cause upon indirect and dubious evidence; and it is somewhat curious that in these evidence of the best kind was within his reach. There is no stronger instance of this, than the basis on which he has chosen to place the doctrine of population. The following passage contains the grounds on which he assents, and calls for the assent of his readers, to Mr. Malthus' important proposition—that the natural tendency of the human species to increase is such, as would in a very short space of time double the numbers of any society.

“ The females of those species of animals whose period and mode of gestation are similar to those of the female of our own species, and which bring forth one at a birth, are capable, when placed in the most favourable circumstances, of a birth every year, from the time when the power of producing begins till the time when it ends, omitting one year now and then, which, at the most, amounts to a very small proportion on the whole.

“ The suckling of the infant, in the case of the female of the human species, if continued more than three months, has a tendency to postpone the epoch of conception beyond the period of a year. This, it is to be observed, is the only physiological peculiarity which authorizes an inference of any difference in the frequency of the births in the case of the female of the human species, and that of those other species to which we have referred.

“ To reason correctly, we should make an allowance for that peculiarity. Let such ample allowance be made as will include all interruptions; let us say that one birth in two years is natural to the female of the human species. In Europe, to which we may at present confine our observations, the period of childbearing in women extends, from sixteen or seventeen, to forty-five, years of age. Let us make still more allowance, and say it extends only from twenty to forty years of age. In that period, at the great allowance of two years to one birth, there is time for ten births, which may be regarded as not more than the number natural to the female of the human species.

“ Under favourable circumstances, the mortality among children is very small. Mortality among the children of very poor people is unavoidable, from want of necessary means of health. Among the children of people in easy circumstances, who know and practise the rules for the preservation of health, the mortality is small; and there can be no doubt, that, under more skillful modes of managing the food, and clothing, and air, and exercise, and education of children, even this mortality would be greatly diminished.

“ We may conclude, therefore, that in the most favourable circum-

stances, ten births are the measure of fecundity in the female of the human species; and that, of the children born, a small proportion would die before the age of maturity. For occasional instances of barrenness, and for this small degree of mortality, let us make much more than the necessary allowance, a deduction of one-half, and say, that every human pair, united at an early age, commanding a full supply of every thing necessary for physical welfare, exempt from the necessity of oppressive labour, and sufficiently skilled to make the best use of their circumstances for preventing disease and mortality among themselves and their children, will, one with another, rear five children. If this is the case, it is needless to exhibit an accurate calculation, to show that population would double itself in some moderate portion of years. It is evident, at once, that it would double itself in a small number of years." (P. 31—33.)

Mr. Malthus' theory is so closely connected with the whole internal constitution of society, and has been so much misunderstood, so much misrepresented, so much vilified, that its friends ought to beware of placing it for a single moment on hollow and insecure ground. Yet here Mr. Mill makes it rest entirely on an assertion with respect to the physical constitution of women; and for that assertion he gives no reason, except an arbitrary, delusive, we had almost said ridiculous, analogy, taken from the brute creation. It may be true, that the generality of women, if married in early life, and placed in favourable circumstances, would have ten children. But this must be proved by showing that the fact is so; mere conjecture is worth nothing. 'Mr. Mill, at the same time that he rests his cause upon this broken reed, rejects the irresistible facts which proffer their aid—"The statements," says he, "respecting the rate of procreation in different countries will be found to be either suppositions with respect to matters of fact, upon the conformity of which suppositions to any real matters of fact, we can have no assurance; or statements of facts of such a nature as prove nothing with regard to the points in dispute." Mr. Mill cannot have forgotten, that we have a numerous class of facts which show, that, in particular countries, and at particular times, the population has actually doubled itself in less than five-and-twenty years, or increased at a rate which would have doubled it in that period. This is direct proof of all that is necessary to the contested doctrine of population. The absolute power of multiplication in the human species is no doubt greater than could be deduced from any actual increase which is known to have taken place. But actual well attested increase proves as much as we want, and on such a subject there is no other legitimate evidence.

Having ascertained the rate at which population tends to increase, the proposition to be next established is, that the means of comfortable subsistence are not capable of a similar rate of

increase. The argument usually adduced to make out this point is extremely simple. As population increases food must be raised on inferior soils; and consequently, unless in so far as the inferior quality of the soil may be counteracted by improvements in the arts which provide the articles consumed by the labourer, equal quantities of labour successively applied to raise corn will produce, not equal, but successively diminishing quantities of food. Mr. Mill adopts a much more abstruse and less convincing line of argument. The situation of the labourer depends, as he conceives, on the rate at which capital increases; that is to say, on the rate at which savings of the annual produce of the country are accumulated: he endeavours to show, by moral considerations, that, in almost every variety of circumstances, the disposition to frugality is so feeble, that savings can be accumulated only very slowly; the rate of profit too is constantly becoming lower, so that the fund out of which savings are to be made is in a perpetual course of diminution; and consequently, the situation of the labourer necessarily tends towards deterioration. We might well question, whether Mr. Mill has succeeded in showing, that the propensity towards frugality is too rare and too feeble to permit the rapid accumulation of capital. When we look at the immense accumulation which has taken place in our own country within the last thirty years, in spite of the enormous amount of loans and taxes which have been consumed in the service of the public, we cannot help suspecting that so far as the accumulation of capital depends on individual frugality, it would increase much more rapidly than our author allows. We might further suggest, that the rate of profit on capital will not necessarily fall, unless the demand for the employment of capital does not keep pace with the increase of its disposable amount; and that even if profits should be lowered, yet a lower rate of profits on a greater amount of capital may produce a larger fund for savings than a higher rate of profit on a less capital. It is therefore clear, that Mr. Mill has here trusted to a long line of argument, in which there appear to be many weak points. We should even be disposed to question what he appears to take for granted as self-evident—that the funds applied in the maintenance of labour depend entirely on the amount of the savings. That which is saved may be such that it cannot be employed reproductively with advantage. To be so employed, it must be capable of putting in motion industry which will produce a value greater than its own. Now, what evidence is there, that every thing which is saved is necessarily capable of being immediately employed in the production of something which will be of superior value? And if all savings are not capable of being immediately so applied, is there not in every stage of society a limit set to the rate of accumulation,

totally independent of the propensity of man to lay up in store or to consume.

Savings do not become capital, unless they are employed reproductively; and it is the difficulty of finding modes of so applying them, not the strong inclination of man to spend all that he can obtain, that opposes a bar to the rapid accumulation of capital. Any plan, therefore, of increasing the capital of a country by an artificial diminution of the consumption, proceeds upon a supposition of very dubious truth. You may, by such means, diminish the amount of the unproductive consumption of the country, but you will not necessarily increase its productive consumption. The more probable result will be, either that the amount of annual production will be lessened, or that a proportion of the unproductive consumption will be shifted from one class of commodities to another. We are, therefore, not a little surprised that Mr. Mill should be inclined to look upon sumptuary laws as good in themselves, and to object to them chiefly on the ground of the difficulty of carrying them into effect.

“Such are the modes in which legislation can weaken the tendency in population to increase. It remains to inquire by what means it can strengthen the tendency in capital to increase. These are, also, direct and indirect. As the legislature, if skilful, has great power over the tastes of the community, it may contribute to render frugality fashionable, and expense disgraceful. The legislature may also produce that distribution of property which experience shows to be the most favourable to saving; but we have seen, that, even in this situation, the motive to saving produces no considerable effects. Sumptuary laws have been adopted in several countries. In this way the legislature has operated directly to increase the amount of savings. It would not, however, be easy to contrive sumptuary laws, the effect of which would be very considerable, without a minute and vexatious interference with the ordinary business of life.” (P. 44, 45.)

The prosperity of a country depends on two things;—the amount of its annual consumption, and consequently of its annual production, and the greatness of the unproductive consumption in relation to the reproductive. The greater the annual production, and the less the quantity of labour which gives it, the more flourishing is the state of the country. Sumptuary laws, considered in a political, not a moral view, assume, that it is the duty of the legislator to diminish the unproductive consumption; in other words, to diminish that which the happiness of the world requires should be increased. They further assume, that to diminish the unproductive consumption is a certain means of increasing the reproductive. To both of these assumptions Mr. Mill, in his doctrine of capital, has paid too much deference.

There is another mode of forcing the accumulation of capital, which Mr. Mill has suggested, and of which he has examined the consequences with more minuteness than it deserves.

"There is certainly one course by which the legislature might produce considerable effects upon the accumulation of capital; because it might lay hold of any portion which it pleased of the net produce of the year, and convert it into capital. We have only, therefore, to inquire in what manner this could be performed, and what effects it would produce.

"The mode of taking whatever portion it might find expedient, is obvious and simple. An income tax, of the proper amount, would effectually answer the purpose.

"The legislature might employ the capital thus forcibly created in one or other of two ways: it might lend it to be employed by others; or it might retain the employment in its own hands.

"The simplest mode, perhaps, would be, to lend it to those manufacturers and capitalists who might apply for it, and could give security for the repayment. The interest of what was thus laid out in one year might be employed as capital the next. Every annual portion would thus make compound interest, and, so long as interest remained pretty high, would double itself in a small number of years. If wages appeared likely to fall, a higher income tax would be required. If wages rose higher than seemed to be necessary for the most desirable condition of the labourer, the income tax might be reduced." (P. 45, 46.)

Our author is far from recommending this plan. But we think that he might have gotten rid of it much more briefly than he does. Government might compel the payment of the tax; but it could not create facilities of employing what was thus forcibly accumulated in the production of commodities of increased value: and unless such facilities constantly existed, accumulation would be of no avail. It might depress and discourage reproductive industry, but could not promote it.

Exchangeable value, though in itself a very simple matter, has given occasion to many mysterious speculations, from which Mr. Mill has not always kept himself sufficiently remote. Value is merely a relative term. It directs the attention to two commodities, or parcels of commodities, and suggests the fact, that the one will be given in exchange for the other. This simple fact is all that is meant by value, and there is nothing recondite in either the word or the thing. If we inquire what are the circumstances which determine the proportions of different commodities respectively exchanged against one another, we shall find that they depend upon the relation between the supply and the demand. This relation will, no doubt, be strongly modified by the cost of production; and the cost of production must be greatly dependent on the quantity of labour employed in the production. Exchangeable value, supply, and demand, cost of pro-



duction, and quantity of labour necessary to production, are therefore closely connected with each other. But we object decidedly to all speculations which confound them together, and which identify them with one another, by pretending to resolve exchangeable value into the labour of production. Such speculations are entirely futile. They are, in fact, merely corruptions of language, for their whole merit consists in giving a novel and very recondite meaning to the word value, in order afterwards to confound this new meaning with the old. One of the steps in the process by which value is resolved into labour, it is worth while to examine; value is first resolved into cost of production: cost of production is made up of labour and capital: therefore, to complete the analysis, it is only requisite to trace up capital to labour.

“As all capital consists in commodities, it follows, of course, that the first capital must have been the result of pure labour. The first commodities could not be made by any commodities existing before them.

“But if the first commodities, and of course the first capital, were the result of pure labour, the value of this capital, the quantity of other commodities for which it would exchange, must have been estimated by labour. This is an immediate consequence of the proposition which we have just established, that where labour was the sole instrument of production, exchangeable value was determined by the quantity of labour which the production of the commodity required.

“If this be established, it is a necessary consequence, that the exchangeable value of all commodities is determined by quantity of labour.” (P. 72, 73.)

Now this analysis is clearly defective. Let us grant, that the value of the capital is determined by the quantity of labour which produced it. The value of the commodity, to the preparation of which the capital has been applied, must be equal, not merely to the value of the capital, but to that value increased by an additional value equivalent to the usual rate of profit. This last portion of the value is not accounted for by Mr. Mill's analysis.

After all, do not such reasonings necessarily run in a vicious circle? Grant that the value of a commodity is to be estimated by the quantity of labour; what determines the value of that labour itself? Shall we measure *its* value by the commodities with which it is purchased, or by those which it produces? And in either case do we not fall back to the point from which we set out? Suppose for a moment that labour is made the measure of value. A commodity is produced by one quantity of labour, and is exchanged for a different (probably a greater) quantity of labour; which quantity shall we take as the measure of its exchangeable value—the quantity which created the com-

modity, or the quantity which the commodity will purchase? The very term *exchangeable value* binds us down to the latter; Mr. Mill and Mr. Ricardo insist upon our preferring the former.

On this subject Mr. Mill has followed in the steps of Mr. Ricardo, who has certainly been eminently successful in perplexing both himself and his readers on the doctrine of value. There are two passages in Mr. Ricardo's work, to which we are glad to direct the attention of the students of political economy, because they place in a clear light the arbitrary nature of the notions which he has adopted.

"Adam Smith, who so accurately defined the original source of exchangeable value, and who was bound in consistency to maintain that all things become more or less valuable in proportion as more or less labour was bestowed on their production, has himself erected another standard measure of value, and speaks of things being more or less valuable, in proportion as they will exchange for more or less of this standard measure. Sometimes he speaks of corn, at other times of labour, as a standard measure; not the quantity of labour bestowed on the production of any object, but the quantity which it can command in the market: as if these were two equivalent expressions, and as if, because a man's labour had become doubly efficient, and he could therefore produce twice the quantity of a commodity, he would necessarily receive twice the former quantity in exchange for it." (Ricardo on the Principles of Political Economy, p. 5.)

"In the same country double the quantity of labour may be required to produce a given quantity of food and necessities at one time, that may be necessary at another and a distant time; yet the labourer's reward may, possibly, be very little diminished. If the labourer's wages at the former period were a certain quantity of food and necessities, he probably could not have subsisted, if that quantity had been reduced. Food and necessities in this case will have risen 100 per cent., if estimated by the quantity of labour necessary to their production, while they will scarcely have increased in value, if measured by the quantity of labour for which they will exchange." (Ricardo, p. 8.)

These passages assert that the quantity of labour which produces a commodity is, or may be, widely different from the quantity of labour for which it will exchange in the market. If this be so, and if value is to be measured by labour, the latter quantity must be the standard, and not the former. To say that the value of a commodity estimated in labour is equal to a quantity of labour different from that for which it will exchange, is a plain contradiction in terms. Adam Smith may have been wrong in taking labour as an universal standard: but if labour is to have this honour conferred on it, he certainly is not mistaken in estimating value by the quantity of labour which an object can command in the market, and not by the quantity

of labour bestowed on its production. We should not have adverted to this subject at all, were it not for the errors and mysteries which, ever since the time of the French economists, have insinuated themselves into the science by means of vague notions attached to the phrase "exchangeable value."

On the important topic of the value of money, Mr. Mill is not true to his own notions of exchangeable value.

"It is not difficult to perceive, that it is the total quantity of the money in any country, which determines what portion of that quantity shall exchange for a certain portion of the goods or commodities of that country.

"If we suppose that all the goods of the country are on one side, all the money on the other, and that they are exchanged at once against one another, it is obvious that one-tenth, or one-hundredth, or any other part of the goods, will exchange against one-tenth, or any part of the whole of the money; and that this tenth, &c. will be a great quantity or small, exactly in proportion as the whole quantity of the money in the country is great or small. If this were the state of the facts, therefore, it is evident that the value of money would depend wholly upon the quantity of it.

"It will appear that the case is precisely the same in the actual state of the facts. The whole of the goods of a country are not exchanged at once against the whole of the money; the goods are exchanged in portions, often in very small portions, and at different times, during the course of the whole year. The same piece of money which is paid in one exchange to-day, may be paid in another exchange to-morrow. Some of the pieces will be employed in a great many exchanges, some in very few, and some, which happen to be hoarded, in none at all. There will, amid all these varieties, be a certain average number of exchanges, the same which, if all the pieces had performed an equal number, would have been performed by each; that average we may suppose to be any number we please; say, for example, ten. If each of the pieces of the money in the country perform ten purchases, that is exactly the same thing as if all the pieces were multiplied by ten, and performed only one purchase each. The value of all the goods in the country is equal to ten times the value of all the money; as each piece of the money is equal in value to that which it exchanges for, and as it performs ten different exchanges in a year." (P. 95, 96.)

He was bound to have maintained, that the value of money is regulated by the quantity of labour employed in producing it. It is of more importance to remark, that he has not proved the principle on which he proceeds. He supposes the whole of the money in the country (or, if each piece of money performs ten exchanges, ten times the whole of the money) to be equal in value to the whole of the commodities in it; and from this supposition it will doubtless follow, that, other things remaining the

same, the value of money will vary inversely as its quantity. The truth of the doctrine, however, depends entirely on the accordance of the supposition with fact; and that accordance is by no means self-evident.

On the subject of the rate of profit, Mr. Mill has given a clear exposition of the doctrine which Mr. Ricardo, we believe, had the merit, or demerit, of first broaching.

"When any thing is to be divided wholly between two parties, that which regulates the share of one, regulates also, it is very evident, the share of the other; for whatever is withheld from the one, the other receives; whatever, therefore, increases the share of the one diminishes that of the other, and *vice versa*. We might, therefore, with equal propriety, it should seem, affirm that wages determine profits, or that profits determine wages; and, in framing our language, assume whichever we pleased, as the regulator or standard.

"As we have seen, however, that the proportion of the shares between the capitalist and labourer depends upon the relative abundance of population and capital, and that population, as compared with capital, has a tendency to superabound, the active principle of change is on the side of population, and constitutes a reason for considering population, and consequently wages, as the regulator.

"Wherefore, as the profits of stock depend upon the share which is received by its owners of the joint produce of labour and stock, profits of stock depend upon wages—rise as wages fall, and fall as wages rise." (P. 56, 57.)

The doctrine is clearly explained, but it does not seem to us to be proved. Though wages and profit make up the prime cost of production, it does not follow, that, as either rises, the other must fall. If wages rise, it must be in consequence of an increased demand for the commodity produced; that commodity will rise in value; and this increase of value will be a fund, perhaps more than sufficient to meet the charges of the additional wages. Mr. Mill and Mr. Ricardo (swayed probably by their notions on the subject of exchangeable value) suppose the value of an article to remain fixed, and that consequently the increase of one ingredient in the cost of production must be compensated by the diminution of some other ingredient. Why should we not hold, that the value is itself variable, and that the rise of one item in the prime cost will be followed by a rise in the value of the article, rather than by a diminution in any other item of the prime cost? It would even appear, that Mr. Mill ought to be led to this conclusion by his own principles. Exchangeable value, he says, is determined by the quantity of labour and capital: why, then, should it not increase, as the value of either of its component parts increases? The truth is, that the rate of profit on capital will rise or fall with the demand for capital, and we see nothing that can make the rise of that demand coin-

cident with a fall of wages, or a diminution of that demand coincident with a rise of wages. Though wages are high in America, the profits of stock are not lower than elsewhere. Wages are higher now than they were 50 years ago; yet, to judge from the rate of interest, the usual profits are not lower.

Another doctrine of Mr. Mill concerning profit, is, that the diminution of the rate of profit depends on the necessity of applying capital to the cultivation of fresh lands.

“ When the demand arrives for such an additional quantity of corn as can only be produced by recourse to inferior lands, or fresh doses of capital on the same land with inferior returns, the cultivators, of course, demur to employ their capital less productively than before; the demand for corn, therefore, increases, without a proportional increase of supply. The exchangeable value of corn, by consequence, rises; and when it has risen to a certain height, the cultivator can obtain as high profits by raising it under the necessity of a diminished produce, as are obtained by any other owners of stock.

“ By this process his profits are not kept up to their former level, but all other profits are brought down to that to which he has been reduced. By the rise in the value of corn, the cost of maintaining labour is increased. A certain quantity of the necessaries of life must be consumed by the labourer, whether they cost little or much. When they cost more than they did before, his labour costs more than it did before; though the quantity of commodities which he consumes may remain precisely the same. His wages, therefore, must be considered as rising, though his real reward may not be increased.” (P. 61.)

But though the gross produce of the application of a given quantity of capital be less, it is not a necessary consequence that the rate of profit should be lowered. The value of the produce may rise, or the portion of it assigned to the labourer may be diminished. In either case, the rate of profit may remain undiminished.

In these remarks on some of the doctrines contained in Mr. Mill's book, it is not our intention to affirm that he is mistaken. We merely wish to intimate, that on the points which we have mentioned, he does not clearly show his conclusions to be true. It is only in that part of the work which treats of capital, that we are harrassed by doubt or difficulty. In the remainder of it, and especially in the chapter on interchange, the reasonings are both perspicuous and concise. It is a work from which even he who has made considerable proficiency in the science may learn much. It will assist him in methodizing his opinions; it will point out to him connections which hitherto have probably escaped his notice; it will aid him in bringing his notions in complete review before the mind, and in taking from time to time a comprehensive survey of the science. To those who are unimbued with the principles of political economy, Mr. Mill's

work presents great facilities for the acquisition of most valuable knowledge. Political economy, however, let it be remembered, is a science made up not so much of facts as of reasonings; and the benefit to be derived from it consists less in the possession of particular truths or positive results, than in the formation of certain habits of reflection and consecutive thinking on a very intricate class of phenomena. The mere perusal of the book, therefore, will be of little avail. It must not only be read, but pondered again and again. It is not the words, but the principles, with all their connections and consequences, that must be impressed on the mind of the student. He will meet with difficulties; let him nevertheless pass on. As he becomes familiar with the more advanced principles of the science, new light will gradually diffuse itself around the maxims and reasonings which are placed first in its arrangements. We would say to him, as the great oracle of the law says to his readers, "And albeit the reader shall not at any one day (do what he can) reach to the meaning of our author, yet let him no way discourage himself, but proceed; for on some other day, in some other place, that doubt will be cleared." \*

We cannot, however, promise with the same assurance, that in this science doubt will give way before assiduous study. The science itself is still imperfect, and must ever be so, till human affairs shall have gone through every variety of change, and experience shall no longer have new lessons to disclose to man. The course of events in the last eight years has revealed some circumstances with respect to the causes of national prosperity and distress which were not before suspected, and has suggested speculations which have produced important corrections of received principles. The necessary imperfection of the science, however, should inspire us not with aversion to it, but with caution and patience in the study of its doctrines; and should impress upon us, that the doubts and obscurities, with which that study is embarrassed, are to be charged, not to the account of the writer who expounds what is known or supposed to be known, but to the defects which belong to this most important branch of knowledge in its present state.

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\* Lord Coke's Preface to his First Institute.

## ART. VIII.—TRAVELS IN PALESTINE.

*Travels in Palestine, through the Countries of Bashan and Gilead, East of the River Jordan: including a Visit to the cities of Geraza and Gamala, in the Decapolis.* By J. S. Buckingham, Member of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta; and of the Literary Societies of Madras and Bombay. 4to. London, 1821.

VARIOUS circumstances have concurred to impart a high degree of interest and importance to the geography of Palestine. As the cradle of our religion, and the scene of all that is venerable in holy writ—as the theatre of the most heroic exploits during the Jewish, the Roman, and the Saracenic wars—as a field, moistened with the best blood of our ancestors, in the wild and romantic age of the crusades; and even now, at the present hour, as a fair and lovely portion of the earth, still favoured with the dews of heaven, and blessed with the most benignant sky; it is impossible to regard it with indifference, or to refuse an attentive ear to those who detail the impressions which these objects have excited in them. On all these accounts, the learning and the researches of enterprising travellers have, from the eighth century to the present time, been directed to the elucidation of the moral and physical condition of the Holy Land.

“The itineraries of catholic devotees,” Mr. Buckingham justly remarks, “have furnished the most ample details regarding the sanctuaries and holy places; and the names of Phocas, Quaresmius, and Adrichomius, are associated with these early labours. The extended journeys of protestant scholars have enlarged our acquaintance with objects of more general enquiry, and the names of Maundrell, Shaw, and Pococke, stand pre-eminent among these. The profound researches of both English and French critics, have laid open all the stores of learning in illustration of the ancient geography of Judea; and the works of Reland and D’Anville, are monuments of erudition and sagacity that would do honour to any country, while the labours of very recent travellers would seem to close the circle of our enquiries, by the pictures which they have given of the general state of manners and the present aspect of the country, retaining still the freshness of their original colouring.

“Yet among all those who have made the Holy Land the scene of their researches, there has not been one who did not conceive that he was able to correct and add to the labours of his predecessors, and, indeed, who did not really notice something of interest which had been disregarded before. It is thus that Dr. Clarke expresses his doubts and disbelief at every step, and attempts to refute, with indignation, authorities which travellers of every age had hitherto been accustomed to venerate. And it is thus, too, that Chateaubriand con-

fesses, with all the frankness of disappointment, that after he had read some hundreds of volumes on the country he came to visit, they had given him no accurate conceptions of what he subsequently beheld for himself." (Pref. p. v, vi.)

Dissatisfied with the imperfect results of the labours of preceding travellers, and persuaded that he can add something new to our local acquaintance with the country of Judea and its interesting relations, Mr. Buckingham offers to the acceptance of the public, the elegant volume of which we are now to give some account to our readers. The circumstances on which he founds his claims to attention are detailed in a copious preface; from which we learn, that the desire of visiting distant regions, was, from infancy, the prominent wish of his heart. At the age of nine years, this rising spirit of adventure found its gratification in the profession assigned him. At that early age he was sent to sea; and in less than a year afterwards was taken prisoner by the Spaniards, and marched from Corunna through the finest parts of Spain and Portugal. The privations and hardships he endured served only to strengthen this infant passion, which was still further confirmed by a series of subsequent voyages to America, the Bahama Islands, and the West Indies. The Mediterranean next became the scene of his wanderings; and, animated with the hope of beholding the most celebrated countries of antiquity, he now applied himself with more than common ardour to the reading of every book within his reach, that was likely to extend his knowledge of the interesting countries by which he was on all sides surrounded. Unfavourable as the incessant duties and the hardy life of a sailor are to such studies, every moment that he could spare "from the vigilant watch, which squalls, and storms, and pirates, and more open enemies, constantly demanded," and from all the complicated claims which commerce and navigation forced on his attention,—was given to study. Sicily, Malta, the continent of Greece, the islands of the Archipelago, the coasts of Asia Minor, and the gulph of Smyrna, gave him a foretaste of what was yet reserved for him to enjoy. Alexandria next received him into her port; and having seen the Pharos, the Catacombs, Cleopatra's Obelisk (now on its voyage to this country), and Pompey's Pillar; he ascended the Nile, 'with the *Odyssey* and *Télémaque* in either hand,' and penetrated into Nubia, whence he returned rich in the spoils of enterprise, consisting of measured plans and pretty ample details of all the monuments of antiquity which he had found in the temples of Daboot, of Taefa, and Galabshee, the quarries and inscriptions of Gartaasy, the stupendous cavern, with its alley of sphinxes, and colossal statues at Garfooy, and the



highly finished sculptures of the beautiful temple of Dukkey. Of all these monuments of Nubian antiquity, which he was induced to consider as belonging to a higher class of art than even those of Egypt, he was robbed on his return, in attempting to cross the desert. At length he reached Cairo; and during his second residence there, he applied himself with renewed zeal to the study of the Arabic language; after making a progress in which, he assumed the dress of an Egyptian Fellah; crossed the desert of Suez to examine its port; returned by a more northern route to explore the traces of the ancient canal, which had connected the Nile with the Arabian Gulph; visited Bubastis, Tanis, and other celebrated ruins, with the lake of Menzaleh in the Lower Egypt; crossed from Damietta along the edge of the Delta to Rosetta; and at length returned to Alexandria. Having resumed his study of the Arabic language for some time, he again quitted that city for Cairo; whence he set out, disguised as a Mamlouk, and, associating with the soldiery, accompanied a caravan of five thousand camels and about fifty thousand pilgrims, for Mecca. The vessel, in which he embarked at Suez, was upset in a squall, and nearly foundered: and our enterprising traveller narrowly escaped with the loss of all that he possessed except his papers. At Jedda, whither he was carried ashore, too ill to prosecute his journey to Mecca, he was hospitably received on board a ship under English colours, which had arrived there from India. Through the kind and friendly attentions of her commander, Capt. Boog, his health recovered rapidly: with him he sailed to Bombay; and after residing in India for several months, he again returned to Egypt by the same channel. He landed at Mokha, whence he made his passage up the Red Sea in native vessels, touching at every port and creek in his way from Babel-Mandel to Suez. His second stay in Egypt was very short: for, the 'mercantile community of India' being desirous of having some more explicit assurances of protection than they had yet received from the native government of Egypt; a treaty of commerce was concluded between Mohammed Ali Pasha, for himself; the British Consul, for the British subjects in Egypt; and Mr. Buckingham on behalf of his Indian friends. Of this treaty, our traveller was requested to become the bearer: and as the Red Sea was then shut by the prevalence of southerly winds, he took the route by Syria and Mesopotamia.

At this period, the travels, announced in the present volume, commenced: and the preceding abstract of his introductory narrative, as well as every page of his elegant and interesting volume, will shew that he undertook them, possessed of that ardour in the pursuit of inquiry, that fortitude of mind, physical

strength, competent knowledge of their native languages, and above all, that intimate acquaintance with the national habits and religion of the people with whom he was about to associate, and that capacity of adapting himself to foreign manners, which are so essential to those who wish to explore a country lying unhappily under the dominion of the Turks.

Mr. Buckingham embarked at Alexandria, on the 25th of December, 1815, on board a *shuktoor*, a three-masted vessel peculiar to the navigation of the Syrian coast, about thirty feet in length, by fifteen in its extreme breadth, and about forty tons burthen. The captain and his crew, altogether ten in number, were Syrian Arabs, professing the Greek religion, unskillful in the management of their vessel, and utterly ignorant of navigation. After a tedious and perilous voyage of thirteen days, the circumstances of which it is not necessary to detail, the vessel entered in safety the harbour of Soor, the ancient Tyre, whence he determined to prosecute his journey by land. Of the present state of this proud mart of antiquity, whose resources of wealth and power are enumerated with so much eloquence by the prophet when proclaiming its destined fall—*whose merchants were princes—whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth*—(Isaiah xxiii. 8.)—we have the following interesting particulars:—

“ The town of Soor is situated at the extremity of a sandy peninsula, extending out to the north-west for about a mile from the line of the main coast. The breadth of the isthmus is about one-third of its length; and at its outer point, the land on which the town itself stands becomes wider, stretching itself nearly in right angles to the narrow neck which joins it to the main, and extending to the north-east and south-west for about a third of a mile in each direction. The whole space which the town occupies may be, therefore, about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, measuring from the sea to its inland gate.

“ It has all the appearance of having been once an island, and at some distant period was, perhaps, of greater extent in length than at present, as from its north-east end extends a range of fragments of former buildings, beaten down and now broken over by the waves of the sea. Its south-western extreme is of natural rock, as well as all its edge facing outward to the sea; and the soil of its central parts, where it is visible by being free of buildings, is of a sandy nature.

“ While this small island preserved its original character, in being detached from the continent by a strait of nearly half a mile in breadth, no situation could be more favourable for maritime consequence; and with so excellent a port as this strait must have afforded to the small trading vessels of ancient days, a city built on it might, in time, have attained the high degree of splendour and opulence attributed to Tyrus, of which it is thought to be the site.” (P. 93, 94.)

“ On approaching the modern Soor, whether from the sea, from the hills, from the north, or from the south, its appearance has nothing of

magnificence. The island on which it stands is as low as the isthmus which connects it to the main land, and, like this, all its unoccupied parts present a sandy and barren soil. The monotony of its grey and flat-roofed buildings is relieved only by the minaret of one mosque with two low domes near it, the ruins of an old Christian church, the square tower without, the town to the southward or south-east of it, and a few date-trees scattered here and there among the houses.

"On entering the town, it is discovered to have been walled; the portion toward the isthmus still remaining, and being entered by a humble gate, while that on the north side is broken down, showing only detached fragments of circular towers greatly dilapidated. These walls, both from their confined extent and style of building, would seem to be of less antiquity than those which encompassed Tyrus in the days of its highest splendour, as they do not enclose a space of more than two miles in extent, and are of ordinary workmanship. They do not reach beyond the precincts of the present town, thus shutting out all the range to the northward of the harbour, which appears to be composed of the ruins of former buildings. The tower to the south-east is not more than fifty feet square and about the same height. It is turretted on the top, and has small windows and loop-holes on each of its sides. A flight of steps leads up to it from without, and its whole appearance is much like that of the Saracenic buildings in the neighbourhood of Cairo.

"At the present time the town of Soor contains about eight hundred substantial stone-built dwellings, mostly having courts, wells, and various conveniencies attached to them, besides other smaller habitations for the poor. There are, within the walls, one mosque, three Christian churches, a bath, and three bazars. The inhabitants are at the lowest computation from five to eight thousand, three-fourths of which are Arab Catholics, and the remainder Arab Moslems and Turks." (P. 47, 48.)

During the fair season, that is, from April to November, the port of Soor is frequented by vessels from the Greek islands, the coasts of Asia Minor, and Egypt, and a considerable trade is carried on in all the productions of those parts; Soor being one of the marts of supply for Damascus, for which its local situation is now, as it formerly was, extremely eligible. The mercantile people are chiefly Christians, whose dress resembled that of the same class in Cairo: the women were habited partly after the Egyptian and partly after the Turkish fashion. In the court of the house where our traveller lodged, he observed a female divested of her outer robes. "Her garments," he says,

"Then appeared to resemble those of the Jewish women in Turkey and Egypt: the face and bosom were exposed to view, and the waist was girt with a broad girdle fastened by massy silver clasps. This woman, who was a Christian, wore also on her head a hollow silver horn, rearing itself upwards obliquely from her forehead, being four or five inches in diameter at the root, and pointed at its extreme; and

her ears, her neck, and her arms, were laden with rings, chains, and bracelets.

"The first peculiarity reminded me very forcibly of the expression of the Psalmist; 'Lift not up thine horn on high, speak not with a stiff neck.' 'All the horns of the wicked will I cut off, but the horns of the righteous shall be exalted;' similar illustrations of which Bruce had also found in Abyssinia, in the silver horns of warriors and distinguished men. The last recalled to my memory with equal readiness, the species of wealth which the chosen Israelites were commanded to borrow from the Egyptians, at the time of their departure from among them; and of the spoils taken in their wars with the Canaanites whom they dispossessed, when it is stated that many shekels of silver and of gold were produced on melting down the bracelets, the earrings, and other ornaments of the women and children whom they had made captive. Most of the women that we saw wore also silver bells, or other appendages of precious metals, suspended by silken cords to the hair of the head, and large high wooden pattens, which gave them altogether a very singular appearance." (P. 49, 50.)

As the state of the country rendered it necessary to Mr. Buckingham's personal security that he should have a firman from the Pasha of Acre, he went thither by the common route, which has so often been described by preceding travellers, as to render any notice of it unnecessary. On his arrival at Acre, he found that Suliman Pasha, the second successor of the celebrated Djezzar, had departed thence early on the morning of the preceding day, with a large body of troops, to secure the possession of the districts of Galilee, Samaria, and all Judea to the southward; while one of his confidential officers had previously marched with another body towards Damascus (the pasha of which had lately died), in order to prepare the way for his master's entrance. As it was known that Suliman would make his first halt at Jerusalem, after securing possession of its neighbourhood, the English consul recommended that our author should proceed thither, and obtain from his hand the only protection under which he could now safely travel. While he was detained at Acre, Mr. Buckingham employed his unwilling leisure in embodying such observations on it as he had been able to make, together with the information which he had obtained respecting that place from those who had been long resident there. In our review of Dr. Clarke's *Travels in the Levant*\*, we gave some curious anecdotes of the character and conduct of the tyrant Djezzar, who then held the pashalik of Acre: we now subjoin a few particulars respecting the actual state of this once celebrated city, the Accho of the Scriptures, (Judg. i. 31.) as well as of its modern inhabitants, who have

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\* See Brit. Rev. vol. iv. pp. 190, 191.

changed the Greek name of Ptolemaïs for its original Hebrew name, Accho.

"The town of Acre is seated on the extremity of a plain on the edge of the sea-shore, and nearly at the bottom of a bay formed by the promontory of Mount Carmel on the south-west, and the skirts of the plain itself on the north-east. This bay, from the cape to the city, may be about ten miles across; from the extremity of the cape to the bottom of the bay, on the south-east, more than half that distance; but from the bottom of the bay to the town of Acre, on the north-west, scarcely more than two miles in length, which is widely different from the most modern maps, where the bay is made to extend at least ten miles inland to the south-east of the town.

"In fair weather the bay itself might offer a roadstead for large ships, but it could not be safely frequented by them in winter; and the port, which is a small shallow basin behind a ruined mole, is scarcely capable of affording shelter to a dozen boats moored head and stern in a tier. Vessels coming on the coast, therefore, either to load or discharge, generally visit the road of Caipha, a place of anchorage within the bay at the foot of Mount Carmel, near which the river Kishon discharges itself into the sea. A vessel from Trieste was loading a cargo of cotton there, shipped by the British consul, the captain of which ship was of our party on the preceding evening.

"This city rose to higher consequence under the liberal auspices of the first Ptolemy, who, after enlarging and beautifying it, honoured it with his name. In after ages, it became a warmly contested port between the crusaders and the Saracens; was long possessed by the former, and adorned with cathedral churches, and other public works; and after passing from the Christians to the Mohammedans, and from the Mohammedans to the Christians again, it fell at length under the power of the Arabs, after a long and bloody siege. It is said to have been then laid utterly waste, in revenge for the blood it had cost its besiegers; after which, in the emphatic language of one of the most eloquent of our historians, 'a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the world's debate.' " (P. 71—73.)

At length it fell under the dominion of the late Djazzar Pasha, under whose government, and that of his successors, Ismael and Suliman, it has risen again from its ashes; and, since the period of the celebrated conflict between the English under Sir Sydney Smith, and the French under the late General Buonaparte, it has been strengthened, beautified, and improved. Few vestiges, however, are to be seen of Greek, Roman, Saracenic, or Christian edifices: even the three Gothic arches mentioned by Dr. Clarke,\* and called by the English sailors, 'King Richard's palace,' have been razed to the ground; so that the very sites of all these monuments of early days will soon become matter of uncertainty

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\* Travels, vol. ii. p. 379, 4to. edit.

and dispute. The interior of the town presents a mixture of the gaudy and the miserable, the ill-contrived and the useful; in which, however, the latter may be said to prevail. The amount of population is not stated by Mr. Buckingham, but he describes the 'stationary inhabitants' as composed one half of Mohammedans, in equal portions of Arabs and Turks; one-fourth of Christians, including all their different persuasions, and the remaining fourth of Jews, whose chief priest, Mallim Haim, claims to be descended in the right line from Aaron, but who enjoys the still more substantial dignity of being the chief minister of Suliman, and the real fountain of all influence in Accho. The military force of the pasha is said to consist of about ten thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry. The trade of this place consists chiefly in the export of cotton raised in the neighbourhood, and in the importation of common wares, for the consumption of the inhabitants of the surrounding country. The bazars are well supplied with provisions at a moderate rate; the climate is healthy, and the government of Suliman is not considered oppressive. Several curious anecdotes are recorded by our author of the late pasha, one of which we transcribe, as it justifies the appellation of *Djexzar*, or the *Butcher*, by which that ferocious, cruel, and avaricious Moslem is generally known.

"Some short time before his decease, he was conscious of the approach of death; but so far was he from showing any remorse for his past actions, or discovering any indications of a wish to make atonement for them, that the last moments of this tyrant were employed in contriving fresh murders, as if to close with new horrors the bloody tragedy of his reign. Calling to him his father-in-law, Sheikh Taha, as he himself lay on the bed of death, 'I perceive,' said he, 'that I have but a short time to live. What must I do with these rascals in my prisons? Since I have stripped them of every thing, what good will it do them to be let loose again naked into the world? The greatest part of them are governors, who, if they return to their posts, will be forced to ruin a great many poor people, in order to replace wealth which I have taken from them; so that it is best both for their own sakes, and for that of others, that I should destroy them. They will be then soon in a place where proper care will be taken of them, a very good place, where they will neither be permitted to molest any one, nor be themselves exposed to molestation. Yes, yes! that's best! Dispatch them!'"

"In obedience to the charitable conclusion of this pathetic apostrophe, twenty-three wretches were immediately added to the long list of the victims of Jezzar Pasha's cruelty; and it is said they were all of them thrown into the sea together, as the most expeditious mode of execution." (P. 80, 81.)

On his departure from Accho, or Acre, Mr. Buckingham passed through Nazareth (of whose present state we have a

pleasing account); and while his mules were feeding at the little village of Deborah, he ascended Mount Tabor, on the summit of which is an oval plain, of about a quarter of a mile in its greatest length, covered with a bed of fertile soil on the west, and having, at its eastern end, a mass of ruins, seemingly the vestiges of churches, grottoes, strong walls, and fortifications; all decidedly of some antiquity, and a few appearing to be the works of a very remote age. The panoramic view from the summit of Mount Tabor is equally beautiful and extensive. Having with difficulty escaped being plundered by some of the marauding soldiers who, at this time, infested the country, our author, on regaining the village of Deborah, was obliged to retrace his steps to Nazareth; whence he resumed his journey towards Jerusalem on the 13th of January, 1816, taking his route over Mount Carmel, through Dora (in all probability the Dor of the Scriptures\*) and Cæsarea, by Joppa and Ramla, which town is supposed to be erected on the site of the ancient Ramah.

Of the ancient history of Jaffa, the Joppa of the sacred writings, we have a copious and well-written account. As it now appears, this place

“ Is seated on a promontory jutting out into the sea, and rising to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet above its level, having a desert coast to the north and south, the Mediterranean on the west, and fertile plains and gardens behind it on the east.

“ It is walled around on the south and east, towards the land, and partially so on the north and west towards the sea. There are not more than a thousand habitations in all the town, and the number of three mosques, one Latin convent, and one Greek church, will afford a guide to estimate the relative proportions of these religious bodies to each other.

“ There is a small fort near the sea on the west, another on the north, and a third near the eastern gate of entrance, mounting in all from fifty to sixty pieces of cannon; which, with a force of five hundred horse, and nearly the same number of infantry, would enable the town to be defended by a skilful commander.

“ The port is formed by a ledge of rocks running north and south before the promontory, leaving a confined and shallow space between these rocks and the town. Here the small trading vessels of the country find shelter from south and west winds, and land their cargoes on narrow wharfs running along before the magazines. When the wind blows strong from the northward, they are obliged to warp out, and seek shelter in the small bay to the north-east of the town, as the sea breaks in here with great violence, and there is not more than three fathoms water in the deepest part of the harbour; so accurately do the local features of the place correspond with those given of it by Josephus.” (P. 157, 158.)

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\* See Josh. xvii. 11.—Judg. i. 27.

During his stay at Jaffa, Mr. Buckingham made minute inquiry concerning the fact of Buonaparte's having massacred his prisoners in cold blood; Mr. Buckingham was assured by the English consul's son,

"Damiani, himself an old man of sixty, and a spectator of all that passed here during the French invasion, that such massacre did really take place; and twenty mouths were opened at once to confirm the tale.

"It was related to us, that Buonaparte had issued a decree, ordering that no one should be permitted to pass freely without having a written protection bearing his signature; but publishing at the same time an assurance that this should be granted to all who would apply for it on a given day. The multitude confided in the promise, and were collected on the appointed day without the city, to the number of ten or twelve hundred persons, including men, women, and children. They were then ordered on an eminence, and there arranged in battalion, under pretence of counting them one by one. When all was ready, the troops were ordered to fire on them, and only a few escaped their destructive volleys. A similar scene was transacted on the bed of rocks before the port, where about three hundred persons were either shot or driven to perish in the sea, as if to renew the deeds of treacherous murder which the men of Joppa had of old practised on the Jews, and which their heroic defender had so amply avenged." (P, 159, 160.)

On his arrival at Jerusalem, Mr. Buckingham proceeded to the Latip convent of the Terra Santa, where he met with a hearty welcome from the procuratore, to whose holy care and protection the President of Nazareth had recommended him as a 'Milord Inglese, richissimo, affabilissimo, ed anche dottissimo.' The monks residing in this convent (with the exception of two Italians) were Spaniards, and displayed all the bigotry and ignorance for which the ecclesiastics of that country have long been pre-eminently distinguished.

"Among the news of Europe, the re-establishment of the Inquisition was spoken of, and all exulted in the hope, that under so wise and pious a king as Ferdinand, the church would again resume its empire, and Christianity flourish. The brightest trait which they could find in his character was, that on any application to him for money to be applied to pious purposes, if the 'Convento della Terra Santa' was named, he usually gave double the sum demanded. "Let the inquisition reign," said they, "and the church will be secure. Let the cross triumph, and the Holy Sepulchre shall soon be redeemed from the hands of infidels by another crusade, in which all our injuries will be avenged."

"Instead of the comfort, apparent equality, and cheerfulness, which reigned at Nazareth, and even at Ramlah, all seemed here to stand in fear of each other; gloom and jealousy reigned throughout, and the



names of the padre superiore, and of the procuratore generale were as much dreaded as they were respected.

“ When we talked of the nature of their duties here, every one complained of them as severe in the extreme. The tinkle of the bell for service was heard at almost every hour of the day; and, besides getting up two hours before sunrise to celebrate a mass, they were obliged to leave their beds every night at half-past eleven, for midnight prayers. Nothing was talked of but suffering, and the difficulty of obedience, ardent desires to return to Europe, and a wish to be sent any where, indeed, on the out-stations, rather than to continue at Jerusalem.

“ Not even in a solitary instance did I hear a word of resignation, or of the joy of suffering for Christ's sake, or the love of persecution, or of the paradise found in a life of mortification, so often attributed to these men.

“ One complained ‘ I came here for three years only, and have been kept seven; God grant that I may be able to return home at the coming spring.’ Another said, ‘ What can we do? we are poor; the voyage is long; and unless we have permission, and some provision made for our way, how can we think of going?’ A third added, ‘ In Christendom we can amuse ourselves by occasional visits to friends; and, during long fasts, good fish, excellent fruit, and exquisite wines are to be had.’ While a fourth continued, ‘ And if one should be taken sick here, either of the plague or any other disease, we have no doctor but an old frate of the convent, no aid but from a few spurious medicines, and nothing, in short, to preserve one's life, dearer than all beside; so that we must end our days unpitied, and quit the world before our time.’ ” (P. 179, 180.)

This convent is called ‘ *Il Convento della Terra Santa*,’ by way of distinction, and is at the head of all the religious establishments of the Romish faith throughout the Holy Land. The superior is immediately dependent upon the pope, but the inferior members are sent from Naples, Sicily, and the South of Spain, indiscriminately. The funds of the institution are chiefly supplied from Rome; but these supplies being interrupted during the late war, they were dependent on the charitable donations of their flock at Jerusalem. Legacies, however, are frequently bequeathed to them by the devout in Europe; and large sums are sent to them by the monarchs in that quarter of the globe. Among these, the donations of the present King of Spain are exceedingly liberal; so much so, that, when a secretary of the British ambassador at Constantinople was sent, in 1815, with a present of 1500*l.* from the Prince Regent of England, the monks did not give him the most flattering reception, telling him that the King of Spain had just before sent them about *six thousand pounds sterling!*

Upwards of one hundred pages are devoted to a description

and investigation of the Holy Places in Jerusalem, (including an excursion to Bethlehem,) the *actual* site of which places it is impossible to identify, at this distance of time. As our traveller has added very little to the previous descriptions of Dr. Clarke (on whom he introduces some rather severe animadversions,) and of Viscount Chateaubriand, of whose Itinerary we some time since gave an ample notice;\* we shall not detain our readers with his accounts of these reputedly sacred spots, and of the various legendary tales connected with them. But the following particulars relative to the actual population and trade of Jerusalem, are too interesting to be omitted. From the most accurate estimate which his means of information enabled him to form, it appears that

“The fixed residents, more than one half of whom are Mohammedans, are about eight thousand; but the continual arrival and departure of strangers, make the total number of those present in the city, from ten to fifteen thousand generally, according to the season of the year.

“The proportion which the numbers of those of different sects bear to each other in this estimate, was not so easily ascertained. The answers which I received to enquiries on this point, were framed differently by the professors of every different faith. Each of these seemed anxious to magnify the number of those who believed his own dogmas, and to diminish that of the professors of other creeds. Their accounts were therefore so discordant, that no reliance could be placed on the accuracy of any of them.

“The Mohammedans are certainly the most numerous, and these consist of nearly equal proportions of Osmanli Turks, from Asia Minor; descendants of pure Turks by blood, but Arabians by birth; a mixture of Turkish and Arab blood, by intermarriages; and pure Syrian Arabs, of an unmixed race. Of Europeans, there are only the few monks of the Catholic convent, and the still fewer Latin pilgrims who occasionally visit them. The Greeks are the most numerous of all the Christians, and these are chiefly the clergy and devotees. The Armenians follow next in order, as to numbers, but their body is thought to exceed that of the Greeks in influence and in wealth. The inferior sects of Copts, Abyssinians, Syrians, Nestorians, Maronites, Chaldeans, &c. are scarcely perceptible in the crowd. And even the Jews are more remarkable from the striking peculiarity of their features and dress, than from their numbers, as contrasted with the other bodies.” (P. 260—262.)

This account varies in some degree from the estimates made by other recent travellers in Palestine. Captain (now Colonel) Light, who visited Jerusalem in 1814, computed its population at twelve thousand;† but Mr. Jolliffe,‡ who was there in 1817,

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\* See vol. iii. pp. 80—90. of this Journal.

† Travels in Egypt, Nubia, &c. p. 178. London, 1818.

‡ Letters from Palestine, pp. 101, 102. London, 1820, 8vo.

states, that the highest estimate makes the total number amount to twenty-five thousand: of these, there are supposed to be

Mohammedans	.....	13,000
Jews	..... from 3 to	4,000
Greeks	.....	2,000
Roman Catholics	.....	800
Armenians	.....	400
Copts	.....	50

These numbers vary from the amount specified by Mr. Buckingham, but it is probable that the increased number of pilgrims, whom mistaken piety might conduct to Jerusalem in 1817, will account for the difference. Whether, however, we take its population at fifteen, or even twenty-five thousand, it is a very slender aggregate, compared with the flourishing population which the city once supported: but the numerous sieges it has undergone, and their consequent spoliation, have left no vestige of its original power. 'Jerusalem, under the government of a Turkish Aga, is still more unlike Jerusalem as it existed in the age of Solomon, than Athens during the administration of Pericles, and Athens under the dominion of the chief of the black eunuchs. We have it upon judgment's record, that, before a marching army a land has been as the garden of Eden, behind it a desolate wilderness. (Joel ii. 3.) The present appearance of Judea has embodied the awful warnings of the prophet in all their terrible reality.\* From Christmas to Easter is the period, in which Jerusalem is most populous, the principal feasts of the Christians falling between these great holidays.

"At the latter festival, indeed, it is crowded, and the city exhibits a spectacle no where else to be seen in the world. Mecca and Medina offer, perhaps, a still greater variety of persons, dresses, and tongues; yet there the pilgrims visit but one temple, and are united in one faith; while here, Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians, all perform their devotions within a few yards of each other, each proudly believing that this city of the Living God is holy and noble to himself, and his peculiar sect alone.

"In Jerusalem, there is scarcely any trade, and but few manufactures. The only one that at all flourishes, is that of crucifixes, chaplets, and relics, of which, incredible as it may seem, whole cargoes are shipped off from Jaffa, for Italy, Portugal, and Spain. Religion being almost the only business which brings men of opposite quarters together here, there is much less bustle than would be produced in a trading town by a smaller number of inhabitants.

"This city being included within the pashalic of Damascus, is governed by a Mutesellim, appointed from thence; and the nature of his duties, and the extent of his responsibility, is similar to that in other Turkish towns. No difference is created by the peculiar sanctity

\* Jolliffe's Letters from Palestine, page 102.

of this place, as is done by that of the Arabian cities of Mecca and Medina; for while a governor of either of these is honoured by peculiar privileges, the Mutesellim of Jerusalem ranks only as the magistrate of a provincial town.

"The force usually kept up here consists of about a thousand soldiers, including horse and foot. These are armed and equipped in the common Turkish fashion, and are composed of Turks, Arabs, and Albanians. The walls of the city, added to the strength of its natural position, form a sufficient defence against any attack from the armies of the country; and some few cannon, mounted at distant intervals on the towers, would enable them to repel a besieging force of Arabs, but it could offer no effectual resistance to an attack conducted on the European system of war.

"From the general sterility of the surrounding country, even when the early and the latter rains favour the husbandman's labours, and from the frightful barrenness that extends all around Jerusalem during the parching droughts of summer, every article of food is much dearer here than it is in any other part of Syria. The wages of the labourer are advanced in the same proportion; as the lowest rate given here to those who perform the meanest offices, is about the third of a Spanish dollar per day; while on the sea-coast of this country, it seldom exceeds a sixth, and in Egypt, is never more than an eighth of the same coin. (P. 262, 263.)

The preparations for the prosecution of his journey being completed, our author bad adieu to Jerusalem on the 28th of January, 1816, in company with Mr. Bankes, whom he had met there, and who (it is understood) is preparing for publication an account of his researches in various parts of Egypt and the East. The route, which they had marked out to themselves, was, to cross the Jordan and pass through Jerash (the ancient Geraza) and Gamala, two cities of whose ruins they had heard much. In this excursion they traversed the countries of Bashan and Gilead, on the east of the Jordan: and this portion of Mr. Buckingham's travels is not only the most interesting part of his volume, but may also be termed entirely new. For that stream has hitherto been the boundary of all our knowledge relative to the ancient Judea, no traveller having explored the countries beyond it, except the late Dr. Seetzen and Mr. Burkhardt, whose discoveries are now scarcely known even by name.\*

\* Mr. Burkhardt's Journal we believe is preparing for publication. Dr. Seetzen addressed some particulars of his researches to his friends in Saxony; a copy of which, having been sent to some members of the Institute at Paris, was by them transmitted to the late Sir Joseph Bankes. By him it was presented to the Palestine association, at whose expense it was translated into English, and published many years after the Doctor's death in a thin quarto tract, entitled "A brief account of the countries adjoining the Lake of Tiberias, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea. By M. Seetzen, Conseiller d'Ambassade de S. M. l'Empereur Russie." —*Editor.*

The first place, that received the travellers, was Jericho, the road thither is rocky and wild, amidst grand and awful scenery; and it is still infested by robbers.

"The whole of this road," says Mr. Buckingham, "from Jerusalem to the Jordan, is held to be the most dangerous about Palestine, and, indeed, in this portion of it, the very aspect of the scenery is sufficient, on the one hand, to tempt to robbery and murder, and on the other, to occasion a dread of it in those who pass that way. It was partly to prevent any accident happening to us in this early stage of our journey, and partly, perhaps, to calm our fears on that score, that a messenger had been despatched by our guides to an encampment of their tribe near, desiring them to send an escort to meet us at this place. We were met here accordingly, by a band of about twenty persons on foot, all armed with matchlocks, and presenting the most ferocious and robber-like appearance that could be imagined. The effect of this was heightened by the shouts which they sent forth from hill to hill, and which were re-echoed through all the valleys, while the bold projecting crags of rock, the dark shadows in which every thing lay buried below, the towering height of the cliffs above, and the forbidding desolation which every where reigned around, presented a picture that was quite in harmony throughout all its parts.

"It made us feel most forcibly, the propriety of its being chosen as the scene of the delightful tale of compassion which we had before so often admired for its doctrine, independently of its local beauty.\*

"One must be amid these wild and gloomy solitudes, surrounded by an armed band, and feel the impatience of the traveller who rushes on to catch a new view at every pass and turn; one must be alarmed at the very tramp of the horse's hoofs rebounding through the caverned rocks, and at the savage shouts of the footmen, scarcely less loud than the echoing thunder produced by the discharge of their pieces in the valleys; one must witness all this upon the spot, before the full force and beauty of the admirable story of the Good Samaritan can be perceived. Here, pillage, wounds, and death would be accompanied with double terror, from the frightful aspect of every thing around. Here, the unfeeling act of passing by a fellow-creature in distress, as the Priest and Levite are said to have done, strikes one with horror, as an act almost more than inhuman. And here, too, the compassion of the Good Samaritan is doubly virtuous, from the purity of the motive which must have led to it, in a spot where no eyes were fixed on him to draw forth the performance of any duty, and from the bravery which was necessary to admit of a man's exposing himself by such delay, to the risk of a similar fate to that from which he was endeavouring to rescue his fellow-creature." (P. 292, 293.)

On quitting Jericho, the travellers crossed the Jordan, (it appears) pretty nearly at the same ford as that which was passed by the Israelites when the river had overflowed its banks. Now, however, the stream appeared to be little more than twenty-five

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\* See Luke x. 30—34.

yards in breadth : it was extremely rapid, and its otherwise turbid waters were here tolerably clear, as well as pure and sweet to the taste, in consequence of its flowing over a bed of pebbles. From the valley of the Jordan, they proceeded through the mountains of Gilead, among which they found numerous lofty plains, bearing the marks of high fertility. They now entered the country of Decapolis, as it was called in the Roman division of Palestine (which is so often mentioned in the New Testament), or the province of Gaulonitis from Gaulon or Golan, its early capital. From Mr.\* Buckingham's description of this interesting region, we select one or two paragraphs, illustrative of the geography of the sacred volume.

"We continued our way over this elevated tract, continuing to behold, with surprise and admiration, a beautiful country on all sides of us ; its plains covered with a fertile soil, its hills clothed with forests, at every new turn presenting the most magnificent landscapes that could be imagined. Among the trees, the oak was frequently seen, and we know that this territory produced them of old. In enumerating the sources from which the supplies of Tyre were drawn in the time of her great wealth and naval splendour, the prophet says, 'Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars.' Some learned commentators, indeed, believing that no oaks grew in these supposed desert regions, have translated this word by *alders*, to prevent the appearance of inaccuracy in the inspired writer. The expression of the *fat bulls of Bashan*, which occurs more than once in the Scriptures, seemed to us equally inconsistent, as applied to the beasts of a country generally thought to be a desert, in common with the whole tract which is laid down in our modern maps as such, between the Jordan and the Euphrates ; but we could now fully comprehend, not only that the bulls of this luxuriant country might be proverbially fat, but that its possessors too might be a race renowned for strength and comeliness of person.

"In our way, just as we came out from a thick wood and opened on an extensive view, we were surprised by a party of peasants on foot, to the number of thirty at least, all armed with muskets slung across their shoulders. These were Arabs, though they possessed scarcely any thing but the language in common with the Arabs whom we had been accustomed to see. The great features of difference observable in them were, that they were generally taller, more robust, and of finer forms, and fairer complexions. Some of them had even light eyes, and many of them brown and auburn hair, which they wore in tresses hanging over their shoulders. The dress of these men differed also both from that of the desert Arabs, and of the Syrian peasants. They wore long white shirts girded round the loins, but neither turbans nor other coverings for their heads. From retaining the beard while the hair was suffered to hang in long and curling locks over the neck, they resembled the figures which appear in the Scriptural pieces of the great masters, and many of them reminded us of the representation of Christ himself in the principal scenes of his life.

"These men were cultivators of the earth, and had been occupied in the tillage of their lands, from which labour they were now returning. As they live in a state of complete independence of Pashas or other governors, there are no boundaries that mark any peculiar portion of the earth as private property. Rich land is so abundant in every direction near them, that the only claim to the possession of any particular spot, is that of having ploughed and sown it, which entitled the person so doing to the harvest of his toils for the present season. In all their occupations they continue to be armed, partly because their country is sometimes scoured by horse Arabs from the eastern deserts, against whom they are then called to defend themselves; and partly because it is the fashion of the country to be armed, insomuch, that the being without weapons of some kind or other, is always imputed to great poverty or to cowardice." (P. 327, 329.)

At length they reached the ruins of Jerash (or as Dr. Seetzen terms it, Dscherrasch), the ancient Geraza; of these interesting remains we have a long description accompanied by several plates and vignettes, without the aid of which it is impossible to give any account of the beautiful reliques of ancient art, that have escaped the united ravages of time, and of the Arabs. The discovery of a noble triumphal arch, though not of the chastest kind, a naumachia for the exhibition of sea-fights, a palace, baths, two theatres, four temples, and several Greek inscriptions, repaid the travellers for the trouble and risk which they had incurred in penetrating to this remote region. Mr. Buckingham is of opinion that Jerash is the Gergashi of the Hebrews.

On the 2d of February, 1816, nearly six weeks after their departure from Jerusalem, Messrs. Buckingham and Banks reached the modern Arab settlement of Oom-Kais on the site of the ancient Gamala, whose ruins they alighted to examine. In their ascent to the hill, on the summit of which the remains of the Roman city stand, they explored numerous sepulchres, excavated in the side of the grey limestone rock, which appear to have formed its necropolis. Although these repositories of the dead had been violated, and innumerable sarcophagi broken, yet they discovered not fewer than two hundred which were perfect: some of them were highly ornamented with garlands and wreaths; others, with heads of Apollo and little Cupids, or cherubs with wings, joining hands together beneath those heads; and some with shields, similar to those which the travellers had seen at Geraza.

The city of Gamala appears to have been nearly square, about half a mile in its greatest length, and its breadth, perhaps, one-fourth less: it stands in a very commanding situation, and from its height enjoys a grand and extensive view. The ruins are those of two theatres and an Ionic temple: the prevalent orders

of architecture are Ionic and Corinthian, though there are some few capitals of the Doric order. The stone was sometimes the grey rock of the mountain, and sometimes the black volcanic stone used in the tombs and sarcophagi. One of these ancient Roman tombs was used as a carpenter's shop; and another, into which the travellers entered, was cleansed out and used as a private dwelling; a perfect sarcophagus still remained within, which was used by the family as a chest for corn and other provisions. 'An affair of blood' between our author's guides and the inhabitants of the vicinity of Tiberias, together with other circumstances, compelled him, instead of proceeding thither directly, to recross the Jordan and return to Nazareth, whence he proceeded to Tiberias, now called Tabareeah.

The fine piece of water, usually called the lake or sea of Tiberias, abounds with a great variety of excellent fish, but from the poverty and indolence of the people who live on its borders, there is not a single boat or raft throughout its whole extent: so that the few fish which are occasionally taken, are caught by lines from the shore, nets never being used. Mr. Buckingham made an excursion along the borders of this lake, in the course of which he visited Tal-hheun or Tal-hhewm (as it is variously pronounced), an Arab station standing on the site of the ancient Capernaum, around which he discovered various remains of what must have formerly been a very considerable settlement. The waters of the lake of Tiberias

"Lie in a deep basin, surrounded on all sides with lofty hills, excepting only the narrow entrance and outlets of the Jordan at each extreme; for which reason, long-continued tempests from any one quarter are unknown here: and this lake, like the Dead Sea, with which it communicates, is, for the same reason, never violently agitated for any length of time. The same local features, however, render it occasionally subject to whirlwinds, squalls, and sudden gusts from the hollow of the mountains, which, as in every other similar basin, are of momentary duration, and the most furious gust is instantly succeeded by a calm." \* (P. 468.)

Mr. Buckingham bears testimony to the fidelity of Josephus's description of this lake,† the features of which, he says, are drawn by the Jewish historian with an accuracy, that could only have been attained by one who had resided in the country.

"The size is still nearly the same, the borders of the lake still end at the beach, or the sands, at the feet of the mountains which environ it. Its waters are still as sweet and temperate as ever, and the lake abounds with great numbers of fish of various sizes and kinds.

"In more early times, the sea of Galilee, or lake of Genneareth,

\* Luke viii. 23, 24.

† De Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 13. § 7.



was called the sea of Chinnereth, from a city of that name seated on it, belonging to the children of Naphtali, and the edge of this sea on the other side Jordan, eastward, was made the western boundary of the portion of Gad, who occupied all the cities of Gilead, and half the land of the children of Ammon. Gennesareth is most probably the original name of this sea of Chinnereth, gradually corrupted; Galilee was the name given to the lake from its situation, on the eastern borders of that division of Palestine; and Tiberias, which is its most modern name, must have been bestowed on it after the building of that city by Herod. This last, both the town and the lake still retain, under the Arabic form of Tabareeah; and the present inhabitants, like the earliest ones, call their water a *sea*, and reckon it and the Dead Sea, to the south of them, to be the two largest known, except the great ocean.

“The appearance of the lake, as seen from this point of view at Capernaum, is still grand; its greatest length runs nearly north and south, from twelve to fifteen miles, and its breadth seems to be, in general, from six to nine miles. The barren aspect of the mountains on each side, and the total absence of wood, give, however, a cast of dulness to the picture; and this is increased to melancholy by the dead calm of its waters, and the silence which reigns throughout its whole extent, where not a boat or vessel of any kind is to be found.” (P. 470, 471.)

The town of Tabareeah or Tiberias presents but few objects worthy of note, excepting the hot baths and some other remains of antiquity in its neighbourhood. Its total population does not exceed 2,000 souls, one half of whom are Jews, principally from Europe, and the remainder are Mohammedans, with the exception of about twenty Christian families of the Romish communion. The military force here rarely exceeds twenty or thirty soldiers, under the command of an *Aga*, and there are four old cannon mounted on different parts of the walls. Provisions are by no means abundant, and therefore are generally dear: and fish, when occasionally taken by a line from the shore, are sold either to the *Aga*, or to some rich Jews, at an exorbitant price.

Desirous of penetrating, if possible, to Damascus, whither he had heard that a caravan was about to proceed from Napolose, (which Mr. Buckingham calls *Nablous*), he hastened to the latter place, in the hope of joining it, as the most secure mode of prosecuting his way: but, on his arrival, he had ‘the mortification to learn that it had departed three days before, that there remained not the least hope of overtaking it, and that no other would go for at least a month to come.’ He was, therefore, reluctantly obliged to retrace his steps to Nazareth, where the hospitable friars received him with as hearty a welcome as before: with his return to this place the volume concludes.

In his retracing his way to Nazareth, Mr. Buckingham deviated from the road, in order to visit Subussta, a humble village,

seated on a strong hill, in a commanding and pleasant situation, being surrounded by fruitful valleys and abundance of olive-trees. In its centre stood the city of Samaria, by Herod called Sebaste (of which its present name is a corruption). Here are some remains of ancient edifices, particularly of a large cathedral church attributed to the piety of the empress Helena.

Nablous, or Napolose (the Sichem of the Scriptures) is a populous town, containing nearly 10,000 inhabitants, all of whom, with the exception of about fifty Greek Christians, are Mohammedans: and the grounds around it bear the marks of opulence and industry. It fully occupies the valley between the two hills of Gerizim on the south, and Ebal on the north. Though a place of considerable trade with Damascus and the towns on the sea-coast, yet there were no Jews here, who remained as permanent residents. The Samaritans, of whom a remnant remained in Maundrell's time (the close of the seventeenth century), are now reduced to scarcely half a dozen, or a dozen families, who perform their sacred rites in studied seclusion and obscurity, and are, if possible, more despised here than the Jews are in other Mohammedan cities.

Before we conclude this article, we cannot but advert to the contemptuous epithets, which Mr. Buckingham very liberally pours forth, in some of his strictures on the reputed holy places, and on the gross and absurd impositions practised in Palestine on the credulity of pilgrims and travellers. We confess, that we could wish such epithets and remarks had been omitted, as we have heard, that they have been considered as 'displaying a contempt for religion itself.' As, however, this intelligent traveller, in his preface, disclaims any such intention, we have (to borrow his own expression) 'put the most favourable construction' upon the passages in question; especially as he has every where made a laudable application of his researches to the elucidation of the Scriptures, and (as our extracts will shew) has in many instances happily succeeded in throwing much light on sacred geography.

The volume is handsomely and correctly printed, and is enriched with a map of Palestine, chiefly from that of the accurate geographer, D'Anville, and also with several plates representing the plans of ancient edifices, and copies of inscriptions, besides a portrait of the author, and nearly thirty vignettes, beautifully executed on wood, exhibiting views of places, costumes, and ruins.

**ART. IX.**—*Private and Original Correspondence of Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, with King William, the Leaders of the Whig Party, and other distinguished Statesmen; illustrated with Narratives historical and biographical, from the Family Papers, in the Possession of her Grace the Duchess of Buccleugh, never before published.* By William Coxe, F. R. S. Archdeacon of Wilts, &c. 4to. Longman and Co. London, 1821.

It is among the principal accomplishments of an English gentleman to be well read in the political history of his own country; not merely in the series and succession of great events, as they chase one another down the stream of time, but in the various scenes of conflict, debate, and fermentation, by which each of these events have been accompanied and characterised. It is only by thus examining the details of critical conjunctures, and studying each epoch with reference to the views of the parties, and the qualities of the persons chiefly concerned in its developement, that we become practically acquainted with our constitution. One would be glad, because it would be honourable to our nature, to find that our political system had been the result of foresight and contrivance; that every good institution had owed its existence to its own merits, and a clear anticipation of its beneficial effects; but our constitution is no such creature. The English mind has no doubt largely impressed its intelligence upon it in each particular stage of its progress; but it has received very many of its most important accessions, and its ultimate complex formation, from fortuitous occurrences and critical emergencies, producing results often very different from, and sometimes entirely contrary to, those which were foreseen or intended. The thing, as it exists, has, in great measure, come about by an agency independent of human contrivance or controul,—the product of an involuntary developement of latent tendencies, and of effects which human speculation has neither designed nor expected. A mighty moral order, mysteriously advancing through cloud and sunshine, stillness and storm, and all the vicissitudes of foul and fair, has educed by degrees that political phenomenon—a constitution in itself not luminous, but shedding light and glory upon the nation living under its practical influence. The more we thus regard the formation and progress of our happy polity, the more we shall become satisfied that man has not conventionally made it, and could not make it; and the more we shall be disposed to a timid forbearance from the dangerous work of undoing what can never be re-made, or re-enacted, or voted again into existence. It was this view of our constitution that appears to have regulated

the proceedings of those, who, at the glorious Revolution of 1688, embodied its prescriptive excellencies into the great settlement of our liberties which was then effected.

As an historical fact, the Revolution of 1688 furnishes the strongest example possible, in support of what we have said above of the danger of taking to pieces the product of circumstances which no human power can again summon into being. They treated the constitution as a contract, not of instrumental and simultaneous formation, but as one to which successive generations had put their seals, and which nature and experience had adopted and approved. And therein consisted their admirable discernment. They did not falsify history, by affecting to recur to any primitive scheme of political perfection; still less did they hold themselves at large to treat the settlement of the British constitution as a new creation: it was the principle and spirit of that great proceeding, neither to do or undo a jot more than the necessity of the case demanded;—to work upon the existing model: and to recognize as sparingly as possible the right of recurring to abstract and original principles. The whole of that extraordinary transaction stood upon the plea of necessity. The only right set up was the right of self-preservation—the great apology of nature—the eldest of all rights; always to be implied, and therefore never necessary to be promulgated. Nothing marks so decisively the clear views and cautious discernment of the great agents in the work of the Revolution, as the care they took to use no more violence than the occasion required; and to give to every procedure the semblance, as far as was practicable, of an effort of the constitution itself for its own continuance. Standing as it were upon the verge of the great magazine of original power, they were aware of the danger of explosion; and abstained as much as possible from the handling of anything that carried fire in its composition. It would scarcely be too much to say, that the change in the political condition of the country effected in 1688, was less a revolution than an effort to avoid revolution. It was a happy combination of intellectual power to redeem the country from the plague of popery and arbitrary rule, and to secure it by a permanent barrier against future contagion. Morally speaking, the Revolution had been wrought by James the Second. The transaction of 1688 was in virtue and effect a restoration. King William came in, not as a conqueror, but as a continuator;—that sort of qualified and constitutional king, which Charles the Second, had the terms of his restoration been agreeable with the manly and sound propositions suggested and recommended by the best patriots of that juncture, would have returned to the seat of his ancestors.

Mr. Burke, in his "Appeal from the new to the old Whigs," has wisely referred us to the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel, as affording to the Whig ministry, and Whig House of Commons of that day, a remarkable opportunity of putting upon record their political tenets on the subject of that great constitutional event of 1688, and of exhibiting to the world its true grounds and principles. The managers of that prosecution had also been the prime movers in that great event, and when the heat and agitation of its execution and accomplishment were over, they deliberately laid before the nation the motives and the maxims which had governed them and their colleagues upon that occasion. They made it clearly appear in all their speeches upon that celebrated trial, that though the Revolution supposed the right of resistance, it practically grounded itself on the argument of necessity.

We shall not trouble our readers with long quotations from the speeches of the managers of the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel; one may suffice for all, for all are in the same strain of reasoning. "Your Lordships," says Mr. Lechmere, "were acquainted, in opening the charge, with how great caution, and with what unfeigned regard to her Majesty and her government, and the duty and allegiance of her subjects, the Commons made use of the words *necessary means* to express the resistance that was made use of to bring about the Revolution, and with the condemning of which the Doctor is charged by this article; not doubting but that the honour and justice of that resistance, from *the necessity of that case, and to which alone we have strictly confined ourselves*, when duly considered, would confirm and strengthen, and be understood to be an effectual security for an allegiance of the subject to the crown of this realm, in every other case where there is not the same necessity; and that the right of the people to self-defence, and preservation of their liberties, *by resistance, as their last remedy*, is the result of a case of such necessity only, and by which the original contract between the king and people is broken. This was the principle laid down and carried through all that was said with respect to allegiance; and on which foundation, in the name and on the behalf of all the Commons of Great Britain, we assert and justify that resistance by which the late happy Revolution was brought about."

In the same most admirable pamphlet the profound writer shews clearly, from the whole text of the Revolution, and the authority of its greatest expounders, who, as he reminds us, were not, "*umbratiles doctores*, men who had studied a free constitution only in its anatomy, and upon dead systems, but who knew it alive and in action;" that the Revolution made "no essential change in the constitution of the monarchy, or in any of its

ancient, sound, and legal principles; that the succession was settled in the Hanover family, upon the idea, and in the mode of an hereditary succession, qualified with protestantism; that it was not settled upon *elective* principles, in any sense of the word elective, or under any modification of election whatsoever: but, on the contrary, that the nation, after the revolution, renewed by a fresh compact the spirit of the original compact of the state, binding itself, both in its existing members and all its posterity, to adhere to the settlement of an hereditary succession in the protestant line, drawn from James the First, as the stock of inheritance." In treating of the true character of the Revolution of 1688, the great author of the pamphlet alluded to, has therein bequeathed to the British people maxims of more conservative value than are to be found in the collective wisdom of all its other political philosophers. "Their principles," speaking of the principles of the theoretic reformers, "always go to the extreme. They who go with the principles of the ancient Whigs, never can go too far. They may, indeed, stop short of some hazardous and ambiguous excellence, which they will be taught to postpone to any reasonable degree of good they may actually possess."—"The theory contained in his book (his own immortal book on the French revolution) is not to furnish principles for making a new constitution, but for illustrating the principles of a constitution already made. It is a theory drawn from the *fact* of our government."—"The whole scheme of our mixed constitution, is to prevent any one of its principles from being carried as far as taken by itself, and theoretically, it would go. To avoid the perfections of extreme, all its several parts are so constituted, as not alone to answer their own several ends, but also each to limit and controul the others: insomuch, that, take which of the principles you please, you will find its operation checked and stopped at a certain point. The whole movement stands still rather than that any part should proceed beyond its boundary. From thence it results, that in the British constitution there is a perpetual treaty and compromise going on, sometimes openly, sometimes with less observation."—"The British constitution has not been struck out at an heat by a set of presumptuous men; it is the result of the thoughts of many minds in many ages. It is no simple, no superficial thing, nor to be estimated by superficial understandings. An ignorant man, who is not fool enough to meddle with his clock, is, however, sufficiently confident to think that he can safely take to pieces, and put together at his pleasure, a moral machine of another guise, importance, and complexity, composed of far other wheels, and springs, and balances, and counteracting and co-operating powers. Men little think how immorally they act in meddling

with what they do not understand. Their delusive good intention is no sort of excuse for their presumption. They who truly mean well must be fearful of acting ill."———"Rational and experienced men tolerably well know, and have always known, how to distinguish between true and false liberty; and between the genuine adherence, and the false pretence to what is true. But none, except those who have profoundly studied, can comprehend the elaborate contrivance of a fabric, fitted to unite private and public liberty with public force, with order, with peace, with justice, and, above all, with the institutions formed for bestowing permanence and stability through ages, upon this invaluable whole."

From this almost sacred elevation on which we have been standing with Mr. Burke, with the principles of the great Revolution of 1688, and the genius of the British constitution developed to our view, how painful it is to draw our breath for a moment in the atmosphere of those men, styling themselves also Whigs, whose leader could so far sell his sober convictions to factious objects, as to pronounce the heartless and hollow system, if system it could be called, set up by the French revolution, "the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty, which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country;" and whose other unprincipled organ could find it in his heart, for his head could not so far have betrayed him, to declare the revolution in France to be like that of England in all its leading points. While the French revolution was in its deceptive beginnings, florid and fair, and tricked out in the plumage of a vain philosophy, one may forgive even considerable statesmen for seeing less into consequences than Mr. Burke; but the callous moderation which could look with indifference upon the bleeding injuries that marked the progress of the revolution in France, at once decided the total estrangement of modern Whiggism from the principle, designated by the same name, by which the great achievement of our liberties in 1688 was effected.

The great exigency of the case, the dominating motive of establishing tempered liberty upon a protestant basis, united the best men in harmonious co-operation; but when the pressure was removed, opinions began to warp and separate. The great body, however, of the Whigs remained entire, strong and consistent enough to carry the nation forward in its career of prosperity, had the necessities arising out of the altered state of the prerogative, and the secret of that indirect influence; which was becoming essential to supply the practical diminution of executive authority, been sufficiently understood. But the nation had not yet fallen into this new train, and in the transition from a government of force to a government of favour, a temporary disorganization took

place, and the shock of parties and contending opinions nearly involved both people and monarch in a common ruin. The monarchical part of the system had long experienced the prerogative to be an unsafe dependence in its struggles with the democracy; from the commencement of the reign of Charles the First it had lost in a great degree its hold upon the interests and fears of the subject; and that unhappy monarch from ignorance of this change in the minds of the people, by a stately reliance on the sanctity of his cause, and by vainly clinging to the staff of his prerogative amidst the wreck of his other resources, lost his crown and his life. From the death of that prince, an ill-managed influence, avowed, careless, and profligate, was in practice under the succeeding Stuarts; but after the Revolution, the nation erected itself against all abuses of power with so firm an attitude and so prevailing an opposition, that direct influence became difficult and dangerous to be exercised. From that period the economy of another sort of influence, which may be called indirect, and which has grown out of the patronage and riches of the state, has been gradually perfected; and it is upon this secondary power, which is as necessary to be watched as it is to be preserved, that the political system of Great Britain is now driven to depend for the permanence, certainty, and consistency of its action. Without this all its movements would soon be suspended.

The embarrassments under which William the Third found himself by the retrenchment of the practical prerogative to which he was obliged to submit, put him upon the necessity (much against his inclination, for he was an honest man,) of resorting to the expedient of secret and indirect influence, and it served his purpose occasionally; but the patronage of government in his time fell short of the quantity necessary to supply it with effective means, and accordingly it failed of securing to the executive government a due counterpoise to the factious spirit of the great, and the tumultuary temper of the popular part of the constitution. The situation of the monarch was, therefore, a very uneasy one. His reign was embittered by the animosities of faction. The Whig party, which was his own, though composed of men equal, as they had indeed proved themselves, to the emergencies of a great crisis, were not yet possessed of sufficient experience in the new predicament and exigence of the empire, to manage that consolidation and application of influence which had now become essential to the machinery of government. At the present moment the appellations of Whig and Tory mean nothing more than calling names. The whole distinction of a Tory consists in his being in place, and helping to carry on the government; the whole policy of the Whigs lies in embarrassing and calumni-



ating the constituted authorities and administrators of the kingdom, to bring about, if possible, their disgrace and removal; admitting without scruple into the order of means for accomplishing such end, whatever can foment ignorant uproar, and ferocious discontent, among the people. But in King William's time parties were more sincere in their feelings, principles were more distinctly marked, and political attachments belonged more to things than names. The collision was greater, and the conflict more serious and continued. The king was a better soldier than politician, and was unequal to the task of so managing his influence as to decide the preponderancy, and controul the vacillations of power into steady and determined action.

In such a state of things to be respected by all parties, to be regarded by his own as their great centre of union and strength, and to be considered by his sovereign as the ornament and support of his government, was the distinguished fate of the nobleman whose political life and correspondence are the subject of this entertaining volume.

At the close of Queen Anne's reign, we find the Duke of Shrewsbury at one time possessed of the three greatest posts in the kingdom,—that of Lord Treasurer, Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and in the opinion of Smollet, "no nobleman in England better deserved such distinguishing marks of his sovereign's favour. He was modest," continues that historian, "liberal, disinterested, and a warm friend to his country." An eulogy in which the correspondence here presented to us will amply bear him out. We are not sure, that we have ever met with a series of published letters of so entirely a political a character which has excited in us so much interest; or so agreeably and instructively blended the man with the statesman. It has the merit also of bringing us nearer to King William than any representation of that deserving prince has yet brought us. It is no small credit to him to have duly appreciated such a character as the Duke of Shrewsbury. His letters to that amiable and great person are not more distinguished by their sound and manly sense, than by their condescending frankness, freedom, and affectionate respect; and the duke's in return are among the best models which we have any where seen of the style and spirit in which a subject should hold correspondence with his sovereign. The letters are well connected by a very judicious arrangement, so as to furnish a complete political memoir of the duke; and the work is interspersed with so many sketches of biography, genealogy, and political anecdote, as to render it a most useful appendage to the history of a period the most important, perhaps, of any in British annals to be well understood. The reader will find the character of Lord Somers

considerably developed in the course of the volume. His letters are peculiarly interesting; and that which we here meet with respecting him, tends to raise him in an Englishman's esteem. After perusing his part in the correspondence before us, we more cordially join Mr. Burke in the exclamation, "I never desire to be a better Whig than my Lord Somers."

The frontispiece of the volume exhibits a portrait of Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, finely engraved, from a painting by Sir Peter Lely, and which, if it resembles the man, as there is good reason to think it does, attests him to have been as engaging in his countenance, as in the qualities of his mind. He was the twelfth Earl, and first Duke of Shrewsbury, son of Francis, eleventh Earl of Shrewsbury, (who was killed in a duel with the Duke of Buckingham, occasioned by that Duke's illicit commerce with his wife,) by Anna Maria, daughter of Robert, second Earl of Cardigan. He was born in 1660, and his parents being Roman Catholics, he was bred up as a member of the same communion. His education was a learned one, and he evinced the marks of it in his breeding and accomplishments. The religion which he had received from his parents did not stand the test to which he thought fit to expose it. Having entertained doubts, concerning its doctrines, he consulted the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tillotson, on the question; and the method he took of extracting from that eminent prelate his best considered thoughts upon it, was by obtaining from his father, and several learned priests of the Romish communion, the principal arguments in favour of the church in which he had been educated, and submitting them to the Archbishop for his replies. The investigation ended in Shrewsbury's embracing the Protestant creed, and becoming a sincere and steady convert to the Church of England.

"The same conviction," says our author, "led him to be among the foremost of those, who opposed the measures of that monarch, for the re-establishment of the roman catholic worship; and as early as May, 1687, we find a letter, conveying professions of his zeal to the prince of Orange, who was then endeavouring to gain partisans, and ascertain the state of the public mind in England. He was likewise one of the illustrious seven, who signed the Association, in June, 1688, inviting over the prince. Convinced of the necessity of an immediate revolution, he even mortgaged his estates; and repairing to Holland, offered his purse and sword to our great deliverer.

"He accompanied the prince to England, and encouraged him with the hope of a general declaration in his favour. While William remained in suspense at Exeter, we are informed by bishop Burnet, that the earl of Shrewsbury was one of the nobles, in whom he chiefly trusted, and by whose advice he drew up his famous Declaration. In the progress of the Revolution he took an active part, and was one

of the three peers dispatched by the prince, to treat with those sent by James. In the convention parliament he espoused the cause of William, and opposed the impracticable measures of those, who wished to act in the name of James the second, to establish a regency, or to place the crown on the head of Mary. While things remained in confusion, the earl of Shrewsbury, the marquess of Halifax, and the earl of Danby were the peers to whom the prince opened his views, and intimated his resolution of returning to Holland, if the parliament should persist in the arrangements, which they seemed disposed to adopt.

“On the settlement of the new government, in which Shrewsbury had taken so active a part, he was nominated one of the privy council, appointed secretary of state, and entrusted with the lord-lieutenancy of three counties. His services, amiable character, deportment, and talents for business, endeared him to William, who considered him as the only person capable of conciliating the two rival parties; and from his general popularity, called him the ‘king of hearts.’

“In his principles Shrewsbury was a moderate whig; but from the circumstances in which he was actually placed, he identified himself with the zealous members of that party, who were selected to fill the principal offices of state. After so sudden a change, however, it could not be reasonably expected, that all classes should long remain satisfied, or readily coalesce in the support of the new government. Cabals and machinations naturally arose. The king was alienated from the whigs, by a suspicion that they intended to diminish his prerogative, and reduce him to a mere cipher; and his feelings were peculiarly wounded, by their refusal to grant him a permanent revenue. The whigs, on their part, were jealous of the partiality manifested by the sovereign to his foreign favourites; disgusted with his cold and repulsive demeanor, and alarmed by his endeavours to extend his authority. Of these contentions the Tories adroitly profited. They expatiated on the bias of their principles in favour of the prerogative, and professed their anxiety, to grant those powers and advantages, which were withheld by their opponents. Scarcely a year therefore elapsed, before the king manifested a strong aversion to those, who had taken the most active part, in calling him to the throne; and an equal partiality to those, whose principles were considered as unfavourable to his title.

“Shrewsbury enjoyed too high a share in his confidence, not to be affected with this change in his sentiments: and foreseeing that he must either renounce his own principles, or withdraw from the party, with whom he was hitherto identified, he became anxious to retire from a situation, surrounded with perils, and ill adapted to his temper, naturally timid and indecisive.” (P. 4—6.)

The total absence of ambition from the mind of a man so qualified in many respects for the conduct of affairs, is not a little remarkable; though, perhaps, his disinclination to ministerial responsibility, may be in part ascribable to the fierce aspect of the

contests of parties operating upon a sensitive, moderate, and disinterested mind. It is also surprising, that notwithstanding the manifestation of a temper unsuited to the region of political commotion, and a spirit of integrity and candour, as little accommodated to the cabals and intrigues of faction, it still should be thought, both by the prince and the party espousing his cause, as an object of the greatest moment to retain the Duke of Shrewsbury at the head of the administration. It is an extraordinary testimony to the worth and weight of his character, and the soundness of his judgment in the conduct of business. The various correspondences which passed between him and the king on his perpetually repeated desire to retreat from public life, and the unceasing anxiety and urgency of his royal master to retain him in the public service, have a very singular air; and when the character of William is considered, demonstrate so much peculiarity in the case, as not to be accounted for, but by ascribing to the minister a power of being useful beyond what is even on record concerning him, or by deducting a great deal from that phlegmatic reserve which has been always imputed to the monarch. In reply to one of the early solicitations of the duke to retire, the king writes the following letter, to solicit his continuance in office, which is a fair specimen of his majesty's feelings towards his minister, and of his customary simplicity and conciseness of expression; we will add also the minister's frank and manly reply, with the editor's connecting observations.

“*Hampton Court, Sept. 5-15, 1689.* I should not have deemed it necessary to reply to your last letter, had I not perceived from that which you wrote to lord Portland, that you expect an answer. I therefore entreat you to relinquish at present your intention of resigning the seals, as it would be greatly prejudicial to my service, and to the welfare of my kingdom. I will use all my endeavours to render your post as little troublesome to you as possible, and I will speak to you on the subject, when I have the satisfaction of seeing you. I likewise assure you, that no man can feel more friendship for you than I do, of which I will strive on all occasions to give you the most convincing proofs.’

“Thus disappointed in his wish to escape from the trammels of office, Shrewsbury observed with equal anxiety and regret, the increasing alienation of the king from the whigs; and his arrangements for proroguing the parliament, in which they were predominant, preparatory to a dissolution and change of ministry. Against this design he therefore remonstrated, in respectful, yet manly terms, in a letter, dated December 22, 1689.

“‘Sir;—Since I received your majesty's commands by my lord Portland, I have considered, as well as I am able, the present posture of your affairs, and how they may at this time suit with an adjournment so long as he proposed, which, as I remember, was to the middle of

the next month. I think myself obliged in duty to lay before you my sense of this matter ; and though I am very incapable to put any thing in writing, fit for your majesty to speak to your parliament, yet that is not the only reason makes me now decline it, but a thorough conviction that an adjournment for so long a time can be of no advantage, but will certainly prejudice your business. For the nation will reasonably conclude, either that you part with your parliament in anger, which is a bad preparation towards the meeting it again so soon ; or else that you have not that pressing occasion for money, which you and your friends have often represented to them, since you defer their consideration of it for three weeks, without any apparent good reason. Besides, it will more and more exasperate the house of commons against those persons who have had the ill fortune to be named in this last address, since they will be pointed out as the authors of this advice.

“ By what I find from my lord Nottingham the argument used for this delay is, to expect the church of England men to return, who are gone into the country, and, he says, so depend upon this recess, that they will think themselves unfairly dealt with, if they are foiled in this expectation. What encouragement they had to rely upon it I do not know ; but supposing they had good grounds, I will say the same thing to your majesty I did to him, that your resolution in this, must be suitable to what you determine, either to join or not join with the church of England.

“ I think your majesty does not suspect me to be so violently biased to either of these parties, as not to see the faults of both, and the dangers that may likely ensue in joining with each of them. I wish you could have established your party upon the moderate and honest principled men of both factions ; but as there be a necessity of declaring, I shall make no difficulty to own my sense, that your majesty and the government are much more safe depending upon the whigs, whose designs, if any against, are improbable and remoter than with the tories, who many of them, questionless, would bring in king James, and the very best of them, I doubt, have a regency still in their heads ; for though I agree them to be the properest instruments to carry the prerogative high, yet I fear they have so unreasonable a veneration for monarchy, as not altogether to approve the foundation your's is built upon. I hope, Sir, you will excuse this plain dealing, from a man that means your service honestly and heartily, and rather chooses to expose himself to your censure for these lines, than to the remorse of his own conscience, for having writ a speech to a purpose absolutely disagreeing with his own opinion.

“ Sir, my humble advice to your majesty is, that you will be pleased not to adjourn the two houses beyond the Monday after Christmas-day ; or else, that you will leave it to them to appoint their own meeting, which will probably be about the same time. My next request is, that you will pardon this presumption from one that is with all truth, duty, and respect, your majesty's, &c.

“ This firm remonstrance deferred, but did not prevent the purpose of the king, for on the 27th of January the parliament was prorogued

to the 2nd of April. In the interval his majesty carried his design into effect by a dissolution, and the tories were enabled to gain a preponderance in the new elections. At the same time several of that party superseded the whigs in the offices of state.

"A vehement struggle accordingly ensued, between the two parties in the new parliament, which assembled in March, 1690. Among other expedients to embarrass their opponents, the whigs brought forward an act for abjuring king James, by which they hoped to reduce the tories to the predicament, either of offending the king by opposing it, or of contravening their own principles, by giving it their support. On this point the contest was carried to such a height, that the king was at length obliged to favour the scruples of the tories, by intimating his wish that the parliament would discontinue the discussion.

"Shrewsbury, who had warmly promoted this act, was disgusted with these measures, and determined to deliver up the seals. William, however, was still too partial to his favourite minister, to acquiesce in his resignation, and employed the influence of archbishop Tillotson, and other friends, to divert him from his purpose. But nothing could soothe the chagrin of the noble secretary, and it was not without great difficulty that he was dissuaded by bishop Burnet from repairing to the royal presence, in a temper of mind which must have provoked a personal altercation; he however conveyed the seals several times to the king, who refused as often to receive them. He remained without acting, till the agitation of his mind threw him into a violent fever, and the seals were delivered through the hands of lord Portland. He resisted all representations to retain this emblem of office, even till the return of the king, who was then preparing for his expedition to Ireland, and relinquished his post on the second of June.

"The ex-minister maintained his consistency by a vigorous opposition to the measures of the tory administration, and particularly distinguished himself, by the introduction of the bill for triennial parliaments into the house of lords.

"William had, however, advanced too far to recede, and therefore, before the close of the year, he removed the remainder of the whigs, to confide the helm of state entirely to the tories. But in the progress of events, he had cause to regret this hasty resolution, which threw him into the power of a party, many of whom were lukewarm in his cause, others adverse to his title, and all incapable of giving that energy to his government, which circumstances required. We find him, therefore, on his return from the campaign of 1693, disgusted with the mismanagement of his new ministry, and anxious to regain the confidence of the whigs. In this predicament he recurred to the intervention of Shrewsbury." (P. 13—17.)

The king's campaigns occupy no little portion of the correspondence. The interest we take in them is at this time hardly enough to move curiosity, but it is impossible not to read the King's short and modest accounts of his successful proceedings, and particularly of the siege and capture of Namur, without a

feeling of respect for his bravery of conduct, and the heroic brevity of his details. His letters, however, from the Continent, are, in general, replete with complainings of the niggardly supplies which the nation seemed in a disposition to grant him; and it must be admitted, that the treatment which, upon the whole, he received from his new subjects, fell somewhat short of his merits and sacrifices.

The events and measures relating to Sir John Fenwicke's conspiracy form a very interesting portion of the correspondence, and not the least pleasing part of it is the behaviour of the king himself in repelling the endeavours used to implicate Shrewsbury. We will give a specimen of his noble and princely way of dealing with these base machinations.

*“ The Duke of Shrewsbury to the King.*

*“ “ Whitcho, Sept. 8-18, 1696.—Sir; I want words to express my surprise at the impudent and unaccountable accusation of sir John Fenwick. I will, with all the sincerity imaginable, give your majesty an account of the only thing I can recollect, that should give the least pretence to such an invention; and I am confident you will judge there are few men in the kingdom that have not so far transgressed the law.*

*“ “ After your majesty was pleased to allow me to lay down my employment, it was more than a year before I once saw my lord Middleton; then he came, and staid in town awhile, and returned to the country; but a little before the La Hogue business, he came up again, and upon that alarm, being put in the Tower, when people were permitted to see him, I visited him as often as I thought decent, for the nearness of our alliance. Upon his enlargement, one night at supper, when he was pretty well in drink, he told me he intended to go beyond seas, and asked if I would command him no service. I then told him, by the course he was taking, it would never be in his power to do himself or his friends service; and if the time should come that he expected, I looked upon myself as an offender not to be forgiven, and therefore he should never find me asking it. In the condition he was then, he seemed shocked at my answer; and it being some months after before he went, he never mentioned his own going, or any thing else, to me, but left a message with my aunt, that he thought it better to say nothing to me, but that I might depend upon his good offices upon any occasion, and in the same manner he relied upon mine here; and had left me trustee for the small concerns he had in England. I only bowed, and told her I should always be ready to serve her, or him, or their children.*

*“ “ Your majesty now knows the extent of my crime, and if I do not flatter myself, it is no more than a king may forgive.*

*“ “ I am sure when I consider with what reason, justice, and generosity your majesty has weighed this man's information, I have little cause to apprehend your ill opinion upon his malice. I wish it were as easy to answer for the reasonableness of the generality of the world. When such a base invention shall be made public, they may perhaps*

make me incapable of serving you ; but if till now I had had neither interest nor inclination, the noble and frank manner with which your majesty has used me upon this occasion, shall ever be owned with all the gratitude in my power.' " (P. 147, 148.)

*" The King to the Duke of Shrewsbury.*

" ' *Loo, Sept. 25, 1696.*—In sending you sir John Fenwick's paper, I assured you, that I was persuaded his accusation was false, of which I am now fully convinced, by your answer, and perfectly satisfied with the ingenuous confession of what passed between you and lord Middleton, which can by no means be imputed to you as a crime. And indeed you may be assured, that this business, so far from making on me any unfavourable impression, will, on the contrary, if possible, in future, strengthen my confidence in you, and my friendship can admit of no increase.' " (P. 151.)

We have the following interesting letters and statements respecting the close of the Duke of Shrewsbury's official life under William the Third, which present the king's conduct in a very favourable view, and disclose something like timidity and vacillation on the part of the minister.

*" The Duke of Shrewsbury to the King.*

" ' *Dec. 10-20, 1698.*—Sir ; I cannot forbear giving your majesty this trouble, to return you my most sincere and humble thanks for the compassion you have been pleased to have of me, in giving me leave to surrender the seals, which Mr. Secretary acquaints me you have done in so generous a manner, as not to appear angry at my retiring ; though at the same time, you expressed yourself with such a kind partiality to me, as to imagine, I might be of some small use in your service, if not in the same employment, in some other. But, as every honest man will have a desire to do his duty both to his master, and the public, whilst he is in an office ; so the uneasiness of being forced so long to neglect what I owe to both, is so fresh in my memory, that I cannot resolve to undertake another, whilst I am persuaded I have not health to execute it, in a decent manner. One can hardly expect a more convincing proof of inability, than what befell me lately, when I designed paying my duty to your majesty, at your arrival : and, if a man cannot bear the air of London four days in a year, he must certainly make a very scurvy figure in a court, as well as in a ministry. Therefore, I hope, when your majesty is pleased to consider my circumstances, you will think what I do, not only reasonable with regard to myself, and my own reputation, but agreeable to that duty, and service, which I owe you, and which to the last moment of my life I will be ever ready to pay, being with as true a zeal and gratitude, as any person in your three kingdoms,' " &c.

" But, notwithstanding his positive refusal to accept an office, the deplorable state of the administration, and the violence of parties which marked the first sessions of the new parliament, induced him at length to yield again to the importunities of the king. On the return of William from the continent, in October, 1699, he was accordingly



appointed lord Chamberlain, though he received the staff with reluctance, and considered himself as a mere cipher, selected to fill the post, in order to prevent farther contention.

“ At this period his epistolary intercourse with the king was suspended, and we must therefore refer to the portion containing the correspondence with the whig chiefs, for an account of his situation and sentiments, in the momentous crisis, when the contests between the whigs and tories threatened the ruin of the country, and the subversion of the throne. His weak frame and timid mind were shaken by the anxiety arising from these storms of faction; and we find him at one time vehemently importuning for retirement, and at another yielding to the solicitations of his royal master, to take a part in the different schemes, which were suggested for the formation of an efficient ministry. He was successively offered the posts of lord treasurer, governor of Ireland, and groom of the stole, and lastly, his choice of any employment under the crown. The government of Ireland, in particular, was strongly pressed on his acceptance, conjointly with the vacant office of groom of the stole; and he once so far submitted to the necessity of the times, as to express a faint acquiescence in the offer. But he was soon discouraged, by the failure of all his attempts to restore harmony between the king and the whigs; and so much agitated by the struggle between his political fears, and his anxiety to gratify his sovereign and friends, that his health was severely injured, and he earnestly renewed his solicitations, for an absolute release from all public cares. The king at first treated his application as the result of spleen, and hoped to divert him from his purpose by a letter of railery. On the representations of Mr. Vernon, he, however, changed his design; and not only expressed a sincere sympathy in his sufferings, but gratified him with a kind and gracious approval of his earnest wishes.

“ *The King to the Duke of Shrewsbury.*

“ ‘ *Hampton Court, 22nd May, 1700.*—With great concern I hear that, notwithstanding all the remedies you have taken, you cannot stop the effusion of blood, which you very much attribute to the uneasiness of your mind, on account of my wish, that you should go to Ireland, and to which you do not feel yourself equal. I assure you I will not press you in any thing, but will leave you entirely at liberty, merely desiring you to attend to only the re-establishment of your health, and should it permit you, I shall be happy to see you here before I go to Holland, about the time I told you, when you went from hence.

“ ‘ I hope you are well convinced of my friendship, and that you can easily judge, how sensibly I am affected by hearing of your illness. May God soon perfectly restore you.’

“ The monarch thus kindly desisted, not only from a purpose, which he seems to have had long and earnestly at heart, but finally accepted the staff of chamberlain; and permitted his favorite minister to withdraw entirely from public life. The duke transmitted his key of office, through the hands of his friend Mr. Vernon, then secretary of state,

who, in two letters to his noble patron, gives an interesting account of the gracious and feeling manner, in which his resignation was accepted.

“ ‘ *June 22-July 2, 1700.*—I did not write to your grace by last post, since you were like to be from home till next week. I was that day at Hampton Court, and read your letter of the 17th to his majesty, whose answer was, that he could not say he was well pleased with your renouncing all employments, and particularly if you would have gone for Ireland, it would have been of great use to his service, and at Dublin you would be freed from the disquiets people in the ministry are exposed to here; but he said, he was fully satisfied of your good intentions, that as he was always disposed to be kind to you, so he knew you would not be guilty of ingratitude. He believed you would do all you could to keep your friends in temper, but he questioned whether you would be able to prevail with them. He remembered you always preferred moderate ways, and endeavoured to bring others to it; but, he could give twenty instances where people’s obstinacy were too hard for your advices; and he could not persuade himself you would have more power out of employment, than being in it. He rather feared you would give yourself up to the ease of a country life, and be unconcerned at what others are doing. I have hardly omitted any thing of what his majesty said on this occasion, by which you will see his majesty wishes he could have retained you in his service; but if you can make him amends, by taking your own way, he will forget all disappointments, and be pleased you should follow your own method, whether in business or out of it.’ ”

“ ‘ *June 25-July 5, 1700.*—I delivered your key to his majesty on Sunday morning. He said he heard, that my lord Wharton made a triumph, that they had prevailed with you to quit every thing. I told him, more of those reports would run about, than were fit to be heeded; that you would never differ in the account you had given of the reason for your resigning. He said, he made no doubt of your integrity and affection. He was satisfied you would do all you could for his service and quiet; but, he still doubted how far you could influence others to be of your mind. The next day the key was given to my lord Jersey.’ ”

“ Still, however, wearied with repeated importunities, and disappointed in his various efforts to restore harmony in the administration, Shrewsbury formed the resolution of retiring to the continent; and his purpose was strengthened by the dread lest the domestic feuds should terminate in a civil war, or produce a new revolution. He lingered in England several months, either to observe the contentions of parties, or to arrange his private affairs. On the return of the king from Holland, he obtained the royal permission to travel, and passed the evening of the 28th of October, at Hampton Court, in close conference with the king, a step which exposed him to the suspicion of having advised the change of ministry, which was then in agitation. The imputation, however, appears to have been groundless; for the duke had previously declared his decided disapprobation of many measures adopted by the king, and no less strongly, his determination to abstain

from any farther share in the contentions of the day. After taking an affectionate leave of his sovereign, he quitted London on the 1st of November, and on the 4th landed at Calais. He reached Paris on the 19th November, N. S., and paid his respects at Versailles, to the king of France, who, as he says, received him '*tolerably civilly*.' Short, however, as was the term of his visit at court, he did not escape some importunity from the friends of the abdicated monarch. He thus relates the incident; 'Nobody was so perfectly civil as my old acquaintance, the duke of Lauzun, for he began to tell me how kindly king James had always taken the civility I had shewn him, when I was sent on the message; and was grounding upon this some farther discourse, when I cut him short, and told him I confessed I had great compassion at that time for his circumstances, but desired that we might not discourse on that, but on any other subject. An hour after he took occasion to commend the prince of Wales; and wished that, by any means, I might have an opportunity of seeing so fine a youth. I told him I questioned not his merit, but had no great curiosity. But if I must see him, I would much rather it were here than in England. This reply dashed all farther discourse of this kind, though he continued extreme civil, walking with me all the time; invited the ambassador and me to dinner, and offered all civilities there, at Paris, or at Montpellier.'

"After a short stay of four days at Paris, the duke of Shrewsbury proceeded to the South of France, and on the eighth of December established his residence in the vicinity of Montpellier. He remained there little more than three months, and departing for Geneva, spent the summer in that city. In the commencement of September, he traversed the Alps into Piemont, and taking the route through Susa, reached Turin on the 5th. From thence, after a stay of only three days, he continued his journey through Genoa, Lucca, Pisa, and Florence, and arrived at Rome on the 20th of November, 1701.

"The retreat of a nobleman so much beloved by the king, so generally respected by men of all parties, and so highly endowed with personal and mental accomplishments, did not fail to occasion numerous speculations and conjectures. Some have supposed that he was more deeply implicated in the intrigues of the Jacobites than he ventured to avow; others, that his indisposition was merely political, and affected as a plea for withdrawing from a responsible post at a period when he expected the Stuarts would regain the throne. From the first charge, we think he may be fairly acquitted; but it is not improbable that his fears of a counter-revolution, and his abhorrence of party warfare, co-operated with the effects of bodily infirmity to drive him from his country, particularly when we consider the timidity inherent in his character, and the troubled circumstances of the times." (P. 181—186.)

The volume is distributed into three parts, of which the first consists chiefly of the correspondence of the duke with the king, specimens of which we have produced to the reader, and his intercourse by letters with the Earl of Portland and others, relative to his continuance in office, till his final resignation in 1700,

and his departure for the Continent. The second part contains three divisions; first, his correspondence with Admiral Russel, afterwards Lord Orford, during his command in the Mediterranean; second, the correspondence with Lord Galway, during the two last campaigns of the war in Italy; and third, the communications with the Earls of Portland and Jersey, and Sir Joseph Williamson, who were employed in negotiating the peace of Ryswick. Of this part we shall say nothing, but that Shrewsbury's part in the correspondence is worthy of his character. The letters are the least interesting of the collection, though it would have been a blameable omission in the editor not to have given them a place in his publication.

The third part into which the volume is divided, exhibits the confidential correspondence of the Duke of Shrewsbury, with the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Somers, and Wharton, Earl of Oxford, and Mr. Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Halifax. "It embraces, as the editor observes, the period from 1695 to 1704. It opens a view of the transactions in the cabinet, and proceedings in parliament, and displays the jealousies which the king entertained of the Whigs, as well as the feuds which prevailed among themselves. It also unfolds the conduct of Lord Sunderland, exhibits his influence with the king, records the cabals which occasioned his disgrace, and traces the cause which led to the removal of the Whig administration."

Of this part of the book we would willingly have exhibited to our readers a larger proportion of extract, than we find upon calculating our space we shall be able to afford. We shall not, however, do justice to the editor, or do all we can for the reader's entertainment, unless we produce to him the interesting sketches with which we are favoured of the distinguished leaders of the Whig party.

"Robert, earl of Sunderland, who forms a prominent figure in the subsequent pages, was son of Henry, first earl of Sunderland, who fell at the battle of Newbury, in the royal cause, of which he was a zealous and distinguished supporter. The services of the father produced a predilection in favour of the son, and after the Restoration he was distinguished by marks of royal beneficence. His natural abilities being improved by a liberal education, and polished by foreign travel, he was initiated at an early period in public business, being sent, in 1671, as ambassador to the court of Madrid. From the satisfaction which he gave in this post, he was, in the following year, selected to fill the embassy to Paris, at a time when the negotiations with the court of Versailles were of the most secret and confidential nature. He was deputed as one of the plenipotentiaries to the congress of Cologne in 1678, and soon after his return to England, in the ensuing year, was made a privy counsellor.

" In 1678 he replaced Mr. Montague in the embassy at Paris; and having acquitted himself greatly to the satisfaction of the sovereign, during the negotiations for the peace of Nimeguen, he was, in 1679, promoted to the office of secretary of state, in conjunction with sir William Temple. A contemporary historian, who knew him well, observes, ' He was a man of great expense, and, in order to the supporting himself, went into the prevailing councils at court; so he changed sides often, with little regard either to religion or the interest of his country. He raised many enemies to himself by the contempt with which he treated those who differed from him. He had, indeed, the superior genius to all the men of business that I have yet known; and he had the dexterity of insinuating himself so entirely into the greatest degree of confidence, with three succeeding princes, who set up on very different interests, that he came by this to lose himself so much, that those who esteemed his parts, depended little on his firmness.'

" A nobleman of so subtle and insinuating a character, could not fail to acquire and retain power, under the crooked policy, which marked the reigns of the two last Stuarts. Accordingly, though he had, on several occasions, favoured the popular party, and at one time had even taken an active share in supporting the exclusion bill, he contrived to regain his influence; and, on the accession of the duke of York, under the title of James the Second, we find him in full possession of the royal favour, and holding the post of prime minister, with the two offices of president of the council and secretary of state. He even sacrificed his religion to his politics; and gratified his bigotted sovereign, by embracing the roman catholic faith, and by taking a leading part in the prosecution of the seven bishops. His sagacity led him, however, to foresee, that the precipitate counsels of James would speedily terminate in ruin; and we find the Proteus statesman caballing with the prince of Orange, and betraying to him the secrets of the cabinet. His infidelity being suspected, he was removed from all his offices, a short period before the Revolution.

" At that crisis he continued his secret correspondence with the prince of Orange, till the fear of detection prompted him to embark for Holland, at the moment when William was about to land in England. Here he gave a death blow to the cause of James, by publishing his celebrated justificatory letter, in which he developed the plans of that misguided monarch, and his roman catholic advisers, for subverting the religion and liberties of his country.

" He was, however, so unpopular, that, notwithstanding his services, he was arrested by the States; and, though liberated by order of the new sovereign, was excluded from the benefit of the act of indemnity passed in 1690. Having involved his fortune, by his expensive habits, he was reduced to great streights, in consequence of the loss of his lucrative offices; but his interests were supported by the earl of Marlborough, and other friends who had assisted in the Revolution, and who, by their influence with William, procured him a share of the royal bounty.

" During this part of his exile, his political sagacity, sound judg-

ment, and intimate acquaintance with the character of his countrymen and the temper of parties, won the confidence of William, who was chiefly guided by his advice, in the critical period which succeeded the abdication of James. On the change of sovereigns he again returned to the protestant church; and, as soon as a favourable opportunity offered, was recalled to his native country; and, by his suggestions, contributed to the reconciliation between William and the whigs, which led to the introduction of several of that party into the administration, and the subsequent appointment of Shrewsbury as secretary of state.

“ He thus succeeded in conciliating the whigs; and though he remained for some time in a private capacity, was supported by a pension of 2,000*l.* per annum from the king. He continued to increase in favour, acted as mediator between the king and the whigs, on various occasions, and, in 1695, was honoured by a royal visit at Althorp, his country seat. This distinction was the prelude of his appointment to the office of lord chamberlain, in April, 1697, in which all the members of administration appear to have concurred, from a sense of the advantages likely to be derived from his personal influence and interposition with the king.

“ From the ensuing correspondence we shall find him in the closest habits of intimacy with the duke of Shrewsbury, whom he resembled in political discernment and amenity of manners, as well as in timidity of character; but he could never vanquish the suspicion which the whigs naturally entertained of a nobleman who had been the favourite and confidential minister of James; and of whose influence with the actual sovereign they were jealous, even while they experienced its beneficial effects.

“ Of this we have a remarkable proof, in the observations of admiral Russel to Shrewsbury, as early as August 1696, in reply to the information of the duke, that Sunderland was about to pay him a visit, and that he would find him ‘in good humour, mighty right, and more than ever for the whigs.’

“ ‘*Chippenham, Aug. 11, 1696.*—I am under some pain about the honour designed me by a great lord. I confess my fault and folly, that I cannot bring my tongue nor countenance to seem satisfied with a man I am not; but will do in it as well as I can. You say he is very much for us; it was plain that was his design to appear when he writ to Felton about coming hither, and complaining of some friend of his wanting friendship. It is an old saying, ‘when the fox is abroad, look to your lambs.’ No man is ever secure from his tricks; but he can play none very prejudicial, if he be not too much trusted and relied upon. If I had lord Marlborough’s art, I could use him in his own way; but I will do my best to learn as much as I can from the lord, and not let him know my thoughts; after which you shall be sure to know what has passed between us.’

“ John Somers, so distinguished for his patriotism, politeness, talents, and legal knowledge, was born at Worcester, on the 4th of March, 1650. He was the son of an eminent attorney of that city, who, during the civil troubles, had served in the army of Cromwell, but quitted the

military life, after the battle of Worcester, and returned to his professional practice and the enjoyment of a competent fortune.

“ The son acquired the rudiments of learning at a private school, and completed his education at Trinity College, Oxford ; where he distinguished himself by his classical attainments, and is mentioned as author of several productions both in verse and prose. Entering at the Middle Temple, he prosecuted the study of the law with his characteristic assiduity, and became eminent as a counsel at the early age of thirty.

“ The employment of his father, as agent for the Talbot property in Worcestershire, appears to have introduced him, at an early period, to the knowledge of the young nobleman, who was afterwards duke of Shrewsbury ; and a similarity in principles, talents, and pursuits, led him also to an intimacy with lord Russel, Algernon Sydney, and other patriots of the time.

“ Though he did not enter into the plots and machinations which were so fatal to his two friends, Sydney and Russell, he employed his pen in exposing the arbitrary measures of Charles the Second, and published several political tracts, which made a considerable impression. From his known hostility to arbitrary government, his zeal for the protestant establishment, and his legal celebrity, he was selected, in 1688, to plead the cause of the seven bishops ; and his manly and pathetic speech on this memorable occasion, to use the words of a contemporary writer, ‘ will remain among those memoirs of our English constitution, which shall transmit the fame of worthy men to all posterity.’

“ Nor did he belie, in his public conduct, the principles of which he was the advocate. He concurred in promoting the Revolution ; and the confidence reposed in his zeal and patriotism was marked by his election, as one of the representatives of his native city, in the convention parliament. He took a leading share in the discussions on the new settlement ; and, as one of the managers of the House of Commons, ably defeated the machinations of those who laboured to prevent the elevation of William to the throne. To his legal acuteness, and profound reasoning, we may chiefly attribute the insertion of the word **ABDICATED**, in the act of settlement, which was the foundation of William’s title to the crown.

“ Such services, joined to his high integrity, multifarious acquirements, influence with his party, and legal reputation, ensured the gratitude and esteem of our great deliverer. Accordingly, Mr. Somers was appointed solicitor-general in May, 1689, and attorney-general, in May, 1692. These promotions were the prelude to a higher elevation ; for in 1693, when William was desirous of shewing his returning confidence towards the whigs, he gave a satisfactory proof of his favour to their party, by conferring on Mr. Somers the office of lord keeper, with the honour of knighthood.

“ At the period when the correspondence commences, Somers was regarded as the leader of the whig party ; and while his prudence and mildness checked the intemperate zeal of his more ardent colleagues, his rectitude, candour, and capacity for business, secured the confi-

dence of the sovereign. His early acquaintance with the Duke of Shrewsbury, now prime minister, had also mellowed into friendship; and their mutual esteem is marked in every page of their epistolary intercourse.

“Edward Russell, afterwards earl of Orford, was second son of Edward, earl of Bedford, and brother of the celebrated Lord Russell. He was born in 1652, and, being bred to the sea, attracted the notice of the duke of York, and became one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. On the execution of his brother, he quitted the court in disgust, withdrew from the service, and entered into correspondence with the prince of Orange, preparatory to the Revolution. For this purpose he removed to Holland, and accompanied the prince on his successful expedition to England.

“In reward for his attachment and services, he was nominated a privy counsellor by the new monarch. In 1688 he was appointed admiral of the blue, and soon afterwards created treasurer of the navy, and intrusted with the command of the fleet, on which the safety of the nation depended. He defeated the intended invasion from France, by his celebrated victory off La Hogue, in 1692; but, on the transfer of the administration from the whigs to the tories, his great services did not exempt him from sharing the fate of his party.

“The want of his energy and skill was, however, soon felt in every department of the naval service; and in restoring him to the command of the fleet, in 1693, the king did not less consult the public welfare, than his own wish to regain the confidence of the whigs. This proof of royal favour was soon followed by his appointment as first commissioner of the admiralty; and he was selected by the king to fulfil the arduous and responsible tasks of regaining the naval ascendancy in the Mediterranean, and of repelling the threatened invasion from France, in the year 1696; both of which services he accomplished with equal ability and success.

“Impetuous, aspiring, and interested, Russell continually offended the king, by his blunt and craving temper; and was himself an unceasing prey to fretfulness and discontent. Hence his frowardness frequently marred the merit of his great services; and, he so far manifested his spleen, that he was suspected of maintaining an occasional correspondence with the exiled family; though the actions of his life, and the frankness of his temper, perfectly exonerate him from the imputation.

“At this period he was esteemed by his party as their most distinguished leader, next to lord Somers; and united in his own person the incompatible offices of first lord of the admiralty and treasurer of the navy; though no one could have been selected, more competent to fill such important posts, nor more justly entitled to them by his eminent services.

“A long and intimate friendship had subsisted between him and Shrewsbury, which was cemented by a similarity in political principles, and by their joint labours in the cause of the Revolution; to which they were both, no less ardently than inviolably attached.

“Thomas, afterwards baron, earl, and marquis of Wharton, was



descended from a noble family, being the eldest son of Philip, lord Wharton. He was born about 1640, and brought up in the principles of the dissenters; while from his father, who had embraced the cause of the parliament, during the civil troubles, he imbibed notions of government approaching to republicanism. Conforming, however, to the established church, he served in several parliaments after the Restoration, and, though a companion in the revels of Charles the Second, he figured in the ranks of opposition to the court. In fact, he manifested so much violence, that in 1677 he was committed to the Tower, with the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Shaftesbury, for questioning the legality of the sitting parliament. With such a character he could not fail to be a warm, strenuous, and dangerous opponent of the arbitrary measures of James the Second. Accordingly, he was among the first who made overtures to the prince of Orange; and is said to have assisted in drawing up the plan of the celebrated declaration, inviting him to England. He joined the prince at Exeter, and took an active share in the settlement of the new government.

“ His zeal and services were rewarded in February, 1689, with a seat in the privy council, and the post of comptroller of the household, and he zealously supported the whig administration. But on the introduction of the tory ministry, he was so offended with the dismissal of his friends, that he sent an anonymous letter to the king, penned in the most vehement style, and reproaching him with his ingratitude to those who had placed him on the throne. Notwithstanding the revolution in the ministry, he, however, still retained his office in the royal household; and was confidentially consulted by the king, when he determined to make a new change, in favour of the whigs, and was anxious to restore the seals to the duke of Shrewsbury. Wharton vigorously supported all the measures of his party, and, in particular, was selected to carry up to the lords the impeachment against the duke of Leeds. On the 24th of February, 1695-6, he took his seat in the House of Peers, in consequence of the death of his father.

“ Wharton was of an ardent and impetuous temper, ambitious of distinction, and anxious to fill an elevated post in the state; for which he was doubtless qualified by his energy and abilities. He was a bold, able, and fluent, though coarse and turbulent speaker; but a master of the passions and prejudices of those whom he addressed, and calculated to shine in the tumult of elections and popular assemblies. He, however, disgusted the more sober part of mankind, by his open profession of infidelity; and he was disliked by the advocates of monarchy, for his tendency to republican manners and republican principles.

“ Such a character sufficiently accounts for the antipathy conceived against him by William; who, though conscious of his talents and services, yet dreaded his aspiring temper, and was disgusted with his haughty demeanor.

“ Notwithstanding his defects, Wharton stood high in the estimation of his party, who admired his inflexible adherence to their principles, and appreciated his abilities and activity. Hence we cannot wonder

that they supported his pretensions with indefatigable zeal and perseverance, and even sacrificed their own interest for the gratification of his wishes.

“ Far different in temper and character was the last correspondent whom we shall have occasion to notice. Charles Montague, afterwards so honourably distinguished, under the title of earl of Halifax, was the grandson of John, duke of Manchester. He was born at Horton, in Northamptonshire, in 1661; and as his father, George Montague, was a younger son, no attention was spared, to enable him to maintain that rank by his talents, to which he was entitled by his birth. He commenced his education in the country; and afterwards removing to Westminster, he acquired the favour of the celebrated Dr. Busby, by his ready wit and classical attainments. At the university of Cambridge he was placed under the care of his relation, Dr. Montague, master of Trinity College, and formed an intimacy with sir Isaac Newton, which continued unabated till the death of that great philosopher.

“ Attracting the notice of the earl of Dorset, the general patron of merit, he was introduced to the most celebrated wits of the age; and, among his other productions, joined with Prior, in the composition of the ‘City and Country Mouse,’ a parody on Dryden’s Hind and Panther.

“ Soon afterwards he sacrificed literature to politics, and, joining the other branches of his family, signed the invitation to the prince of Orange. He was chosen a member of the convention, and devoting himself to public life, purchased the place of a clerk of the council.

“ He speedily distinguished himself in the House of Commons, by his splendid eloquence, sound judgment, and knowledge of finance. His solid acquirements were embellished by elegant taste, social qualities, and captivating manners; and he was no less beloved than esteemed by his party.

“ After taking an important share in the debates on the new law for trials of high treason, he was appointed, in 1691, a commissioner of the Treasury, a post for which he was eminently qualified by his genius for finance. From the talents and diligence, which he displayed in this subordinate station, he was raised to the second place at the board; and appointed chancellor of the exchequer, in the year 1694, when the new ministerial arrangement was made in favour of the whigs.

“ Notwithstanding the fervid eloquence of Wharton, Montague was regarded by his party, as their ablest champion in the House of Commons, and considered as their most skilful opponent to the tory leader, Harley, on questions of domestic economy and finance. Next to Somers, he was the whig most esteemed by the king, not only for his sterling sense, and useful talents, but for that amenity of manners, which his majesty so much admired in the duke of Shrewsbury.” (P. 385—395.)

The short account given by Lord Somers of the King’s  
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resolution to leave his throne and the country, after the vote respecting the Dutch Guards, is too interesting to omit.

“ ‘ Dec. 29, 1698.—My lord ; Your grace did extreme rightly judge where the difficulty would lie upon our friends, that is, in the point of the army. Their success in the Speaker gave occasion to some to say, every thing was possible, which they would attempt in good earnest. And the same persons are hearkened to, when they say, that their conduct, upon the debate in the House of Commons, was so far from aiming at what the king desired, that it was a downright delivering him up.

“ ‘ This has put the king upon great extremities in his purposes, as I doubt not your grace may have heard before this time. I have not acquainted you with his resolution sooner, because I thought it could not be taken up in good earnest. But I have had, this morning, such a sort of confirmation of it, that I cannot think it possible to have it carried on so far, if it be meant but as an appearance only, and to provoke us to exert ourselves.

“ ‘ His resolution is, when the next Wednesday’s business is over, to come to the parliament, and tell them, that he came over to rescue the nation from the ruin impending over them, in which he succeeded, and had brought them to the end of a dangerous war, without any great misfortune ; that now they had peace, and might provide for their own safety ; that he saw they were entertaining distrusts and jealousies of him, so as not to do what was necessary for themselves ; that he was, therefore, determined to leave England, but, before he went, would consent to any law they should offer, for appointing commissioners of both Houses, to administer the government, and, then they would not be jealous of themselves.

“ ‘ When he first mentioned this to me, I treated the notion as the most extravagant and absurd, that ever was entertained, and begged him to speak of it to nobody, for his own honour. He heard me patiently talk against it, for two hours, but concluded at last, as of a notion he still retained.

“ ‘ He has spoken of it to my lord Marlborough (which one would wonder at, almost as much at at the thing itself), Mr. Montague, and to my lord Orford, and, I believe, to divers others. The last time I saw him, he would not suffer me to argue with him, telling me plainly, he saw we should never agree, and he was resolved. I told him, I hoped he would take the seal from me, before he did it ; that I had it from him, when he was king, and desired he would receive it from me, while he was so.

“ ‘ I should tell your grace, that, upon a meeting with Mr. Secretary, lord Coningsby, and divers others of the House of Commons, we all agreed in an opinion, that this business of the army could not be carried higher than 10,000, and that with the utmost difficulty, and not unless the country gentlemen would enter into the debate, which they would never do ; unless it might be said to them, that it would be an acceptable service to the king, and that he would make the best of that number.

“ ‘ When this was told him, he was very much dissatisfied, and said, he could not say a thing, which was but to deceive us, that he would leave all to Providence, having taken his resolution, and would go to Windsor, and stay till Saturday.

“ ‘ What fruit the king is made to believe he may expect from such a proceeding, I know not, nor who are the movers to it. I think it infinitely prejudicial to him, and ruinous to the whole. I think, also, there is an extreme difficulty upon all our friends, who will, in the conclusion, fall under censure, however they act in this matter.

“ ‘ I never wished for a thing, so passionately, in my life, as to have half an hour’s discourse with your grace, upon the subject. Is it not possible that I might receive a line or two of your’s, before this critical business is to come on? This is so considerable an incident, that I do not, at present, enter into the giving you my particular thanks, for the good advice in the last letter, which I had the honour to receive from your grace. I am sensible of it, as I ought to be, and will endeavour to make the best use of it, if the king’s purpose does not put me upon the necessity of being in no capacity of making any use of advice of such a nature.

“ ‘ I do not know what Monsieur Tallard has said to the king, upon the news from Spain. He had an audience on Friday last. But I am told, from a very good hand, that at the court of France it is said, this resolution of the catholic king’s will make void the late treaty. Whatsoever the french king may have in his purpose, I take for granted, will not appear till after the winter is over. I am with all possible sincerity and respect.’ &c.

“ ‘ The following is a copy of the speech, which king William intended to make to the parliament, inclosed in the preceding letter from lord Somers: •

“ ‘ I came into this kingdom, at the desire of the nation, to save it from ruin, and to preserve your religion, your laws, and liberties. And, for that end, I have been obliged to maintain a long and burthensome war, for this kingdom, which, by the grace of God, and the bravery of this nation, is at present ended in a good peace, under which you may live happily and in quiet, provided you will contribute towards your own security, in the manner I had recommended to you, at the opening of the sessions. But seeing to the contrary, that you have so little regard to my advice, that you take no manner of care of your own security, and that you expose yourselves to evident ruin, by divesting yourselves of the only means for your defence, it would not be just or reasonable, that I should be witness of your ruin, not being able to do any thing of myself to prevent it, it not being in my power to defend and to protect you, which was the only view I had in coming into this country. Therefore, I am obliged to recommend to you, to choose, and name to me, such persons as you shall judge most proper, to whom I may leave the administration of the government, in my absence, assuring you, that though I am at present forced to withdraw myself out of the kingdom, I shall always preserve the same inclination for its advantage and prosperity; and when I can judge that my presence will be necessary for your defence, I shall be ready to return,

and hazard my life for your security, as I have formerly done, beseeching the great God to bless your deliberations, and to inspire you with all that is necessary for the good and security of the kingdom.'

"The intrepid and manly remonstrances of the chancellor, induced the king to forego his hasty resolution of withdrawing from England; but no representations could soothe his resentment against the whigs, for suffering their opponents to carry so odious a measure, as the reduction of the army. A deep sense of the royal displeasure, appeared to stimulate their zeal, but, when brought to the trial, they again shrunk from the contest, and suffered the bill to proceed, without a division. An attempt was, indeed, finally made to raise the intended establishment in England to 10,000 men, by proposing, that the number should be reconsidered in the committee: but this effort was feebly supported, and the proposal treated with contempt by the king, who considered so inadequate an addition as totally inefficient. At the last reading of the bill, however, an unexpected revulsion of sentiment appears to have taken place, among the independent members, and the measure encountered greater opposition than in any stage of its progress; but its advocates were still triumphant, for it was carried, on the 19th of January, by a division of 221 against 154." (P. 572—575.)

We shut up this entertaining volume with regret. We have from necessity omitted many letters of particular interest, for which the reader must take his revenge by resorting to the work itself. The learned and laborious editor is entitled to our best thanks, as members of the British public; feeling ourselves engaged by ties of gratitude, homage, and affection, to cultivate every opportunity of arriving at a better knowledge of the characters, principles, and course of action and exertion, which accomplished a revolution whereby this country has attained an elevation unequalled in the history of nations, and at which, in these times of reforming mummery and popular delusion, we proudly take our stand.

## APP. X.—THE EXISTING DISTRESSES OF THE COUNTRY.

*The State of the Nation at the Commencement of the Year 1822. Considered under the Four Departments of the Finance—Foreign Relations—Home Department—Colonies, Board of Trade, &c. &c. &c. 8vo. Hatchard. London, 1822.*

*An Address to the Members of the House of Commons, upon the Necessity of Reforming our Financial System, and Establishing an efficient Sinking Fund for the Reduction of the National Debt; with the Outline of a Plan for that Purpose. By One of Themselves. 8vo. Richardson. London, 1822.*

It is not our intention to occupy much space with the contents of either of these two pamphlets. The latter is employed in

recommending and explaining one of those crude projects of promoting the public welfare by plundering one class of the community for the supposed benefit of another, which do not merit a moment's attention from any thinking man, unless it be to brand them with that reprobation due to all that tends to familiarize the mind with plans of injustice. One of the proposals of this most sage member of parliament is, to reduce the legal rate of interest to four per cent., with a view to lighten the burden to landholders oppressed by mortgages. Will he deign to consider, what the effect of this well-meant aid would be? Every mortgagee would instantly file his bill of foreclosure; within a year the mortgagers would be foreclosed, unless they chose rather to borrow on annuity at what rate they could; and such a change would take place in the property of the soil, as England has not witnessed since the Norman conquest.

"The State of the Nation" is merely a vindication of the ministry. To a loose and clumsy, though affected and laborious style, it adds both the confusion arising from want of arrangement, and that which arises from excessive minuteness of division. Its statements of facts are seldom precise or complete; sometimes they are inaccurate, and sometimes inconclusive. The writer everywhere exhibits marks of a very partial and superficial acquaintance with political economy; but occasionally compensates for this deficiency by his sprightly ridicule of that which he so little comprehends:

"If ministers have not gone the full speculative length of those gentlemen, who in pamphlets and reviews out of parliament, and in speeches and essays within it (very commendable from their length and labour), have recommended the general adoption of all the theories of Smith and Turgot, they must not be denied, in the first instance, the praise of having listened to these speeches with a patience as commendable as the industry of the speakers; and in the next, of having supported, and personally attended, the appointment of the parliamentary committees for which they have asked. If these committees have, in most instances, had no other termination than in the publication of a long report, the cause is, doubtless, to be sought in the difficulty of the subject, and in the wide difference between theory and practice—between diagrams of navigation upon dry land, and practical courses rendered necessary by sea and winds. It is not requisite to inform his Majesty's ministers, that the first and best principles of commerce would be a perfect freedom of trade, and that in almost all cases legislators would act wisely in leaving it to find its own way. The same text-books and common-places were open for them as for their political adversaries. It was as easy for them, upon a petition from Manchester or Birmingham, to give a laborious summary of the three volumes of the *Wealth of Nations*. It was as easy for them to refer all national principles to the language of the exchange

and the bullion-market. But, having been educated in another school, they have learned that a nation has other interests besides those of money-making. They have learned that the first interest of the empire is in its national defence, and in the maintenance, in their full integrity, of those funds of our maritime greatness and revenue, under which we have attained our actual condition." (P. 63, 64.)

True: and what are those funds of our maritime greatness and revenue, except the national wealth! However contemptible the art of *money-making* may be, it should have been treated with more respect, from a consideration of its subservience to the great public concern of *tax-paying*. Since it would have been so easy for ministers "to make a laborious summary of the three volumes of the *Wealth of Nations*," it is a pity that one of the cabinet did not complete it for the use of their advocate. Their summary would have done him more good, than his defence will do them. So striking a proof of ministerial partiality for, and proficiency in, political economy, would have calmed the irritation naturally felt by every official mind towards a science, which has the disgrace of being better understood by Mr. Ricardo and Mr. Brougham than by the clerks of the treasury.

We shall satisfy ourselves with one specimen of the imperfect representations, by which this author supports his conclusions. To prove our increasing prosperity, he compares the exports and imports of 1821 \* with those of a preceding period. Here every thing depends on the standard with which the comparison is made: and it should obviously have been made with the most seemingly prosperous of former years. Rejecting, however, 1815 and 1816, as times of "intemperate and unparalleled speculation," he takes, as his criterion, sometimes the year 1817 (the year immediately following what he had characterised as a season of extravagant commercial adventure, and which, therefore, would probably be a time of languor and exhaustion); and sometimes, if it suits his purpose better, an average of some of the years of the war. The point, therefore, which he has established is merely, that during the last year we exported and imported more than in some preceding year; and undoubtedly we must have made large strides towards ruin, before that proposition shall cease to be true at every successive stage of decay. What renders the fallacy of his principle still more apparent is, that, between the periods which he compares, a year may be found (1819), which, if admitted into his calculations, would have given results totally different from those which he has presented to us.

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\* When we speak of the exports of 1821, we mean the year ending on 5th January 1821. It is in this sense that it is generally, though not uniformly, taken by the author of "*The State of the Nation*."

"In 1817, the official value of flax and hemp, the materials of our linen manufacture of all kinds, and therefore a more just criterion of the state of these manufactures than the quantity of the manufactured article, was in round figures 700,000*l*. In 1821, the official value of the same articles was 1,200,000*l*. In raw silk, (an article of the first consequence, inasmuch as it is the material of a manufacture now about to become one of the staples of the kingdom, and to pass aside its former rivals, the silks of Italy and Lyons) the state of our imports through the above successive years has been equally promising." (P. 55.)

"Without going through the minute detail of figures, it will be sufficient to add, that, from 1816 to 1822, the amount of raw and thrown silk imported has increased from about half a million to nearly a million and a half; that is, to three times its former amount. This increase of importation is of so much the more consequence, inasmuch, as above said, it is the increase of a manufacture now rising amongst us from its former subordinate state, to the condition of one of our staples. In cotton, the comparative state of our imports is equally promising." (P. 56.)

"Within the same period of years, our importation of cotton, now the leading manufacture of the kingdom, and destined doubtless to become the clothing of the world, has increased from three millions to five, and in the year now about closing (1821), will exceed six millions." (P. 56.)

The import of tobacco has in-

In 1819 the importation of flax and hemp exceeded 1,400,000*l*. If we include raw linen yarn, which is surely one of the materials of our linen manufacture, the difference will be still greater. The importation of that article in 1819 was 255,697*l*.; in 1821, only 111,190*l*.

The importation of this article was, in 1819, 1,250,000*l*.; in 1821, 1,385,000*l*.

The importation of this article, in 1819, amounted to 5,767,547*l*. Here the year 1821 means not the year ending on January 5th, 1821 (which is the year commonly denoted by our author as the year 1821), but the year ending on January 5th, 1822. The reason probably is, that the importation of cotton in 1821 was comparatively small.

The importation of tobacco, in



creased nearly by one-third from 1817 up to the present time." (P. 57.)

"From 1817 to 1821, the value of our cotton manufactures, exported, rose from 16,000,000 to 21,000,000. But in no year of the war had the value of these exports exceeded 18,000,000. When the accounts shall be made up for the year now current, namely, to January 1822, the value of our cotton exports will be found to exceed 23,000,000; such at least is the promise of the quarter now current." (P. 59.)

"Our linen manufactures have risen, between 1817 and 1821, from one million and a half to two millions, being double the amount of the same exports during either of the three last years of the war, 1811, 1812, and 1813." (P. 59.)

"Our exports in silk, though as to exports only an incipient manufacture, have gradually become in annual real value half a million, about one-fourth the amount of our linen exports." (P. 59, 60.)

"Our exports of iron and steel, wrought and unwrought, in the year 1821, maintain their average produce during the war, and in January 1822 will exceed the export of any former year." (P. 60.)

"From 1817 to the year 1821 our exports of refined sugar have increased from a million and a half to two millions, and have nearly doubled their amount in any year of the war." (P. 60.)

"Our tin, pewter, and plated goods, exceed, together, half a million in annual value, and exhibit an increase of nearly one half of their total amount above the war years of 1811, 1812, and 1813." (P. 60.)

1819, was 421,253*l.*; in 1821, 347,687*l.*

¶ The exportation of cotton, in 1819, exceeded 23,000,000*l.*

The exportation of linen from Great Britain, in 1819, amounted to 2,174,594*l.*; besides, the exportation from Ireland, in that year, was much greater than in the year 1821.

This assertion is totally unfounded. In 1819 the exportation of silk was 213,480*l.*; in 1821, 164,703*l.*

These exports amounted, in 1819, to 1,469,098*l.*; and in 1821 to 1,214,426*l.*: and along with them the author should have classed hardware and cutlery, the exportation of which, in 1819, was 644,000*l.*; in 1821, 400,234*l.*

The exportation of this article, in 1819, exceeded 2,000,000*l.*

If we include with these articles jewellery and watches, the exportation of them, in 1819, amounted to 890,000*l.*; in 1821, it fell short of 600,000*l.*

"The average value of our India piece goods, exported, is gradually advancing from its amount of one million during the war, to a million and a quarter." (P. 61.)

The India piece goods exported in 1819, amounted to 1,270,699*l.*; in 1821, to only 1,198,266*l.*

The comparison in "The State of the Nation," is likewise fallacious in the selection of the articles which are mentioned. The important articles which are omitted, are generally such as would have turned the scale against the author's argument, and therefore he suffers them to sleep in silence. For instance, the following is the comparative value of some of the omitted imports in the years 1819 and 1821.

Imports	in 1819	in 1821.
Wine .....	£895,346	£561,668
Madder and Madder-roots ....	721,712	299,570
Indigo .....	777,546	688,996
Dye-woods .....	above 250,000	about 90,000

The total exports in 1819 were nearly 37 millions sterling; in 1821, they were under 32½ millions. The coffee exported in 1819, amounted to 3,151,118*l.*; in 1821, to 2,759,347*l.* In the latter year the exportation of earthen ware was lessened by nearly one-half, and of miscellaneous articles by one-fourth: that of leather, linen, and stationery, also fell considerably. In these observations we have taken, as the author has done, the official value as our standard. The real or declared value would have given us a still stronger case. For, according to the official valuation, the exports of 1819 amounted to 53,559,711*l.*; in 1821, to 48,951,467*l.*; and yet the values, as declared in these two years, respectively, were 46,611,348*l.* and 36,424,652*l.* While we object to the comparison of our export and import trade in 1821, with that of preceding years, as fallacious, we are far from asserting that our commerce has not been prosperous. The exports and imports for a single year prove little or nothing with respect to that particular year. It does not follow that the merchandise which is sent out of the kingdom is immediately sold at a profit, or that the goods brought in are in actual demand. The real extent of commercial transactions may be larger in years when it is in appearance somewhat less.

Instead of further examining the statements and semblances of reasoning contained in "The State of the Nation,"—an inquiry, which, as the subject is there discussed, could, at the most, enable us only to form an opinion on the conduct of ministers,—we propose to turn our attention to the actual situation of the country. We shall ascertain, if we can, the nature of the distress now complained of; we shall examine, whether the events

of late years exhibit any circumstances, that will account for the peculiarities of our present state; and we shall try to conjecture, what are the hopes or fears, which may be most reasonably entertained with respect to the future. Such inquiries have a much higher claim upon us, than the eulogies or the philippics of party. Though the system of political administration has a great and direct influence upon the condition of a country, it is a most dangerous error to look upon it as the sole cause of national welfare or distress. There are sources of sweet and bitter waters, which rise much higher than any scheme of finance. While we watch with jealousy every proceeding of the rulers of the state, let us not imagine, that, when we have estimated their conduct correctly, we have taken a complete survey of the causes of the good or evil which actually exists among us.

We are not aware of any reason for supposing, that the wealth of the country, or the amount of its annual production and consumption, has of late years been, or is now, in a course of diminution. We have heard of lands thrown, or about to be thrown, out of cultivation; but we have not yet seen them: no visible marks of decay are to be found; nothing that shows that we have begun a retrograde career. The consumption of exciseable commodities, and consequently, it may be presumed, of necessities, has increased. That the circumstances of the labouring population (notwithstanding the enormous addition made to their numbers within the last ten years) have not become worse, is proved, both by the absence of any unusual degree of mortality, and by the diminution in the poor's rates: how much of this diminution is to be ascribed to improvement of their condition in consequence of an increased demand for labour, and how much of it to the rise in the value of money, we do not stop to inquire. Our manufactures are evidently not in an unprosperous state; for our manufacturing population is in full employment, and liberally paid. Mr. Brougham, indeed, to prove the depression of our manufactures, has mentioned in parliament, that, at a late meeting of persons concerned in the iron trade, a proposal was made for reducing the number of their furnaces, that, by lessening the supply of the article, its price might be raised, and they might obtain a larger profit. The plan, as might have been expected, was rejected. Under the sheltering wings of a monopoly it might have had some success: but where a free competition existed, it could not be otherwise than injurious to those who should adopt it; for what else was it, than a scheme to gain more by leaving capital idle, than by employing it at a low rate of profit? Such a proposition proves only, that the persons who made it would be glad to get a larger rate of profit, if they could: and Mr. Brougham does not

need to be reminded, that the diminution of the rate of profit, far from being a symptom of decay, is the necessary effect of a more abundant accumulation of capital. It has sometimes resulted (and such is said to have been the state of things in France, in the latter period of Bonaparte's tyranny) from the blocking up of channels, that were before open to industry; but, among us, it clearly proceeds from the rapid accumulation of capital since the cessation of our immense war expenditure. The complaints which are often heard of the stagnation of foreign trade, are sufficiently accounted for by the same cause. He who can gain no more than 6 or 7 per cent., where lately he gained 10 per cent., may be forgiven, for not being aware that the declension of his profits is the effect of abundant national wealth. And if he has been trading on borrowed capital, for the use of which he is obliged to pay a fixed rate of interest, he has still greater reason to be dissatisfied.

In the midst of this unimpaired prosperity, there has been a general fall in the prices of commodities, different of course in different articles, but not estimated beyond the truth, if taken on an average at 25 or 30 per cent., and extending to other countries as well as England. "Many commodities," says the Report of the Committee on the State of Agriculture, "of extensive and general demand, the staple productions of other countries, such as corn, cotton, rice, and tobacco, in the United States of America; sugar and rum in the West Indies; tallow, flax, hemp, timber, iron, wool, and corn, on the Continent of Europe; appear to have fallen in price, in some instances more, and scarcely in any less, in proportion to the prices of those articles prior to 1816, than the fall on the price of grain in this country." The French farmer has of late been as loud as the English in his murmurs at the state of the markets, and as clamorous for protection against the influx of foreign grain. In consequence of this single circumstance, a heavy loss must have been sustained by all whose capital was invested in commodities that have thus fallen in price: and the distress thence arising must have been aggravated by the diminution in the rate of profit, which has accompanied it. A capitalist with 10,000*l.*, which he employed at a profit of 10 per cent., would have a yearly income of 1000*l.* That capital is reduced in value perhaps to 7000*l.*, on which he may find it difficult to gain more than seven per cent.; so that his yearly profits do not now amount to more than 490*l.*, or less than one-half of their former amount, while his debts, remaining undiminished, are ready to overwhelm him. There is, therefore, little wonder that there should be a general cry of distress among the greater number of those, who employ their own or borrowed capital in agriculture, manufactures, or commerce. Without any

diminution of the total wealth of the country, a great change has taken place in its distribution. While the holders of commodities have been losers, they who held money, or what gave them a right to demand money, have gained: debtors have paid, and creditors have received, more than they otherwise would. Fluctuations in the value of money necessarily occasion a very extensive alteration in the circumstances of individuals; but the alteration is accompanied with much more distress, when the value of money rises, than when it falls. When it falls, the holders of commodities, and all who have sums of money to pay, are gainers: purchasers and creditors,—men with money, or securities for money, in their hands—alone sustain inconvenience; and this inconvenience comes upon them, not so much in the shape of positive loss, as of want of participation in the gains of other classes. But when money rises in value, the losers are those, who are indebted, and consequently most likely to be embarrassed—who are actively engaged in supplying funds for the maintenance of productive industry, and whose embarrassments, therefore, are most likely to be felt through a wide circle. Their loss, too, presents itself in the most appalling and least ambiguous aspect—that of a positive diminution in the money value of their property.

The loss of the capitalist may much exceed the limits which we have hitherto traced. A part of his capital may have been so laid out, that it cannot be withdrawn, or have a different application given to it. It may have been expended, for instance, in buildings and machinery, which, in the new situation of things, would sell for a mere trifle. Instead of being the owner of the buildings, perhaps he only holds them under a long lease, and at a high rent. In this case, too, his embarrassments are augmented. His diminished profits are exhausted by these annual payments; and he is obliged to encroach upon his trading capital, which, unless a timely bankruptcy intervene, passes piece-meal into the hands of his lessor.

Such is, and, for some time, has been, the situation of the farmer. The business of the farmer consists in the employment of his own, or borrowed, capital, in the cultivation of the soil. A large portion of his capital must generally be laid out in permanent improvements, which it is physically impossible to withdraw from its agricultural application; and for which, in the event of a general fall of prices, he can obtain no adequate return.\*

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\* The agricultural distress seems to be felt the least in those districts where the farmers are little superior to labourers; probably because there little capital has been expended on the soil. The distress has never been considerable in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and probably from the same cause. The want of leases discouraged the farmers from laying out their savings in permanent improvements, and the immediate vicinity of large manufacturing towns gave them great facilities for investing their money advantageously. It used to be a common complaint of landlords in that district, that the farmers never employed the money which they saved in improving the land.

He has, at the same time, to pay a fixed annual sum to the owner of the soil, which, if originally just, having been calculated according to the price of produce, must be greater than he can afford, now that the price has fallen. The landlord, especially after a period of considerable profits to the cultivator, and of gradually increasing rents, is unwilling to submit to a diminution of income. As the farmers have had the benefit of an occasional rise of prices, so they must bear the loss of what he conceives to be an occasional fall. The tenant, if bound by a lease, has no means of resisting the proprietor; and so long as he has a farthing in the world, may be compelled to fulfil his engagements. If he holds from year to year, he is fettered, not indeed by any legal necessity but by circumstances not less irresistible than the obligations of law. If he gives up his farm, he loses the capital invested in it. The utmost compensation which will be allowed him for his improvements, (and it is only a liberal landlord who will, and only a wealthy landlord who can, make him any compensation,) will be extremely inadequate to the sums expended. He must dispose of his furniture, his implements, his cattle, all the various articles of his stock, and that, too, at a time when it will be scarcely possible to obtain a price for them. If his farm and stock were considerable in extent and amount, he sees himself forced to descend by these steps to poverty: if he had little beyond the scanty stock on a few acres, he beholds himself on the point of being reduced to beggary, and thrown out a vagabond upon the world. The former knows not how to employ the little which he has saved from the wreck—the latter knows not whither to fly for daily bread for himself and his family. Is it wonderful, that, in such a situation, the cultivator should hesitate to abandon his farm, till pressed by the most extreme necessity; and that he should lend a willing ear to the delusions of hope, which whispers that the fall of prices is only transient? If he has employed borrowed capital, his distress is greater, and his motive for struggling with and concealing his embarrassments still stronger. Were he to take steps for quitting his farm, he would immediately be called upon to repay what he had borrowed, and the sudden enforcement of such a claim would be his ruin. He, therefore, borrows on every side, or draws, from his capital, funds for the payment of accruing rent and interest. Part is paid—part runs into arrear: the rent is at last reduced; but his credit and his capital are already exhausted, and his previous embarrassments prevent him from paying a rent, which, were he unencumbered with debts, he could easily afford. The tenant being ruined, the landlord loses part of what was due to him, and is left with the farm on his hands. After a short time, a fresh occupier enters upon it, who, coming in with unimpaired resources, can pay a

considerable rent without inconvenience; though the former tenant, impoverished by the loss which fell upon him in consequence of the fall of prices, would probably have been unable to cultivate the land, even if it had been let to him at a rent merely nominal.

While the proprietor is thus exposed to heavy losses, in consequence of the non-payment of arrears, and the change of tenants, his expenditure goes on according to its usual scale. He is probably loaded with annual payments which he cannot diminish—such as jointures, and the interest of mortgages, or of the portions of younger children, charged upon his estate. When his rents are reduced, charges like these, and the debts in which he will probably have become involved during the transition from the former state of prices, will render him a distressed man, even if his family and personal expenditure should be diminished in the same proportion with his rental.

In the absence of taxation the distress would gradually pass away. As soon as the fall of prices was at an end, the merchant would go into the market with his capital, reduced indeed in money value, but capable of procuring as much of all commodities, except money, as before; and any permanent deterioration of his condition, could arise only from the fall of the rate of profit—a circumstance which, in England, has accompanied, though it has no necessary connection with, the fall of prices. The manufacturer, in consequence of his greater proportion of fixed capital, would suffer both for a longer time, and more severely. From the same circumstance, in concurrence with the other causes which we have mentioned, the distress of the farmer would come on still more gradually, would last still longer, and be felt still more severely: nor would it pass away completely, till the lands were in the management of farmers free from debts contracted during the period of high prices, possessed of disposable capital either belonging to themselves or recently borrowed, and paying rents proportional to the actual price of agricultural produce. As soon as this should happen, every class of persons (putting any variation in the rate of profit out of the question) would be as much at their ease as before, because their expenses would be lessened in the same proportion with their incomes. All articles of home production would, of course, have partaken, and partaken uniformly, in the general fall. As to foreign imports, if the country which furnished them had experienced the same alteration in the value of money as England, they would be proportionably cheaper here. If money there had risen more than here, they would fall in more than their due proportion, and in less, if money there had not risen so much as here. But in either case the variation from the general rule would be

temporary, and the commodities of foreign growth would, by the necessary operation of commerce, fall ultimately in the same degree with our home productions.

Taxation alters the case materially, inasmuch as it constitutes a part of every man's expenses, which will not be diminished in the same proportion with his income. So far as the taxes are direct, it is clear that they absorb, after a general fall of prices, a larger portion of his income, and leave him less for the supply of his wants and the purchase of enjoyments. So far as they are laid on commodities in the shape of customs, excise, &c. they prevent these commodities from falling in price in the same proportion as those which are untaxed. Let a yard of woollen cloth be worth 20s., and a yard of silk worth 12s.; impose a tax of 8s. per yard on the silk, its price must rise to 20s. per yard.\* After some time let money rise one-fourth in value, the yard of woollen cloth will fall to 15s., but the yard of silk will fall only to 17s.; because the 8s. paid as a tax remains a constant quantity, and the variation in the value of money can affect only the price, at which the commodity would sell if not taxed, that is, 12s. In the event, therefore, of a rise in the value of money, the consumers of taxed articles sustain a loss equal to a part of the amount of the tax, proportional to the rise in the value of money. In the case which we have put, the consumers of silk lose 2s. ( $\frac{1}{4}$  of 8s.) in every yard which they purchase. If the tax be diminished at the same rate at which money rises in value, the circumstances of individuals will not be affected by the rise, because every article will be cheaper in a corresponding degree.

Upon the whole, the fair inference from the analysis of the effects naturally flowing from a rise in the value of money, is, that the existing distress has proceeded from such a rise, as its principal, and indeed sole original cause: and that it may have been aggravated by taxation, in so far as our public burdens have not suffered a corresponding diminution. Whether they have suffered such a diminution, we shall not pretend to determine. The taxes, which have been taken off since the end of the war, amounted to a full fourth of the public revenue; and they were of a nature to affect most those who are now the principal sufferers—the capitalists and the landlords. It is vain to object, that our remaining taxes have risen in effective value, so that our burdens have not in reality been lightened. Whatever the mischiefs of taxation may be, our taxes, if not in reality greater now than during the war, cannot be the cause of the existing distress. In attempting to account for the difference between the former and the present situation of certain classes of the com-

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\* Strictly speaking, it will rise to more than 20s.; because the manufacturer or merchant, who advances the tax, must be allowed profit on the sum so advanced.



munity, we cannot, by dilating on circumstances common to both periods, make a single step towards the knowledge of the truth, however much we may thereby promote the purposes of faction. It is very conceivable, that the whole of the distress, now complained of in England, might have existed, though we had not paid ~~one~~ farthing of taxes during the last century. The diminution of taxation to a large amount would, undoubtedly, give a certain degree of relief; not however because taxation is the root of the evil, but because an improvement would thus be effected in every man's situation, which would, in some degree, counterbalance the individual distress occasioned by the alteration of prices. On this subject two errors prevail among different classes, and we know not which of the two is the more dangerous:—the one, that taxation is the cause of the existing distress; the other, that the removal of taxes would not operate as relief.

Having now traced back our present embarrassments to their immediate source, the next inquiry which presents itself is, what is the cause of the general alteration of prices. The hypothesis of those who ascribe it to our return to cash payments, is overturned by the simple fact, that for more than two years and a half before the enactment of Peel's Bill, the average depreciation of our currency did not exceed  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and, consequently, our return to cash payments could not affect our currency to more than that amount. The question is, how comes an ounce of gold to be equivalent to a greater quantity of commodities now, than six or seven years ago? It is no explanation to say, because we can now exchange our bank notes for gold. That circumstance may have raised our paper currency to a level with the metallic, but cannot account, *except in a very slight degree*, for the increase which has taken place in the value of the precious metals themselves. We have said, *except in a very slight degree*; because our return to cash payments, by increasing the demand for gold and silver in the European market, may have produced some inconsiderable rise in their value. On the other hand, the demand for the precious metals, occasioned by our great foreign expenditure, has ceased. Whichever of these two opposing circumstances may have prevailed, in neither case can the excess of influence have been great.

Others ascribe the general alteration of prices, sometimes in part, sometimes in whole, to the disturbance or obstruction of the old channels of trade. *Transition from war to peace, loss of continental monopoly*, are sonorous and indefinite phrases, which may well be supposed capable of accounting for every thing. The satisfactory reply to all such hypotheses is, that our trade is

greater than during the war; and, consequently, no part of our distress, and, least of all, of our agricultural distress, can be ascribed, by any chain of broken metaphors, to a supposed derangement in the channels of commerce. It is curious, that the loss of the continental monopoly, so much regretted by some clear-headed politicians among ourselves, is equally the subject of regret among the French, who imagine, that they, and not we, enjoyed the benefit of that monopoly. A year and a half ago, the manufacturers and shopkeepers of Normandy universally ascribed their diminished gains to the interference of England with those markets, which France had supplied exclusively during the war.

The peculiar circumstances of the present situation of the world, should, and may be accounted for on much more general principles.

“Whenever the value of money has either risen or fallen (the quantity of goods against which it is exchanged, and the rapidity of circulation remaining the same), the change must be owing to a corresponding diminution or increase of the quantity; and can be owing to nothing else. If the quantity of goods diminish, while the quantity of money remains the same, it is the same thing as if the quantity of money had been increased; and, *if the quantity of goods be increased, while the quantity of money remains unaltered, it is the same thing as if the quantity of money had been diminished.* Similar changes are produced by any alteration in the rapidity of circulation. By rapidity of circulation is meant, of course, the number of purchases made in a given time. An increase in the number of these purchases has the same effect as an increase in the quantity of money; a diminution, the reverse.”—(Mill's Elements of Political Economy, p. 27.)

Now, the enjoyment of profound peace throughout the world must have increased every where the powers of production. Causes of destruction, that were in constant operation during the war, have ceased to act: industry has in many cases received a more useful direction: land and capital, for instance, that were formerly devoted by our continental neighbours to the culture of tobacco, or of substitutes for tropical produce, are gone back to a cultivation better adapted to the soil and climate: the expenses of carriage have been lowered, and a surplus capital thereby left at liberty to seek other employment: the diminished annual expenditure too of the different governments leaves in the hands of the members of each community greater funds for the maintenance of labour. There can, therefore, be no doubt, but that there has been an increased production in every part of the world; and, according to the admitted principles of political economy, as explained in the passage quoted above, this increased production, not counterbalanced by a correspond-

ing increase in the quantity of the precious metals, must have added to their value throughout Europe.

On this subject, it is of great importance, that we have an accurate conception of the effects of the diminution of the expenditure of government. In every country, a certain ratio exists between the production and the consumption on the one hand, and the total consumption, and that part of it which is unproductive, on the other. As the expenditure of government is unproductive, the cessation of that expenditure diminishes the unproductive consumption of the country, and additional funds remain in the hands of individuals. An unproductive individual consumption, equal to that which has just terminated, cannot spring up suddenly; and though the reproductive consumption may be increased, so as to render the total consumption greater than before, yet, this additional reproductive consumption is counterbalanced, as to its effect on the markets, by the additional quantity of commodities which it creates. Thus, the diminution of the unproductive consumption, must necessarily be followed by a more abundant supply in proportion to the demand, than existed before. The consequence must be a general fall of prices, the inconveniencies of which will be aggravated by the loss and embarrassment occasioned to capitalists, by their inability to dispose of their stock on hand.

These two circumstances—increased production and diminished unproductive consumption—are quite sufficient to account for the distress which has been experienced in this country, as well as in every other part of Europe. If the pressure is now felt most severely by the agriculturists, the cause will be found in those peculiar circumstances in their situation, which we have already pointed out. Perhaps, too, the agricultural improvements of preceding years may now be coming completely into effect, and, coupled with a succession of good harvests, may have depressed the price of produce below its natural level. The distress, therefore, originates from causes temporary in their nature, and will, of course, be temporary in its duration. While it does last, those who are exposed to suffer from it, are not within the reach of legislative aid. Parliament cannot, by the force of words, restore capital, which has been exhausted by a change in the value of money, and by the necessity of paying, out of diminished funds, the interest and principal of loans, and rents raised for some time above their natural level. Parliament cannot, without injustice, free men from the debts which they have contracted. Parliament cannot, by any artifice, short of the destruction of capital, increase the rate of profit. But, if the present distress is such as the legislature would in vain attempt to relieve, it is a consolation to reflect, that its continuance and ex-

tent are limited by a power higher than that of artificial law. Our capital, far from being diminished, exhibits symptoms of rapid increase, and a due portion of it will necessarily flow towards the cultivation of the soil. A change injurious to the present farmers has taken place; but, in this respect, they are merely unlucky speculators, whose misfortunes are no proof of the unprosperous state of the country.

Some men, indeed, whose opinions are entitled to the highest respect, believe, that the poorer soils now under the plough, must be thrown permanently out of cultivation. If there is for the moment an accidental over-production of corn, so that the supply exceeds the demand, the growth of it may, and should, for a time be diminished. But this diminution can be only temporary. In consequence of the increase of population which must take place under such circumstances, the demand will soon come to bear the same proportion to the supply as before; and as, whatever may be the value of money, the exchangeable value of corn, compared with that of commodities consumed in producing it, will not be permanently diminished, cultivation will soon reach its former extent. The poorest lands lately in cultivation must have afforded a return equal to the consumption of the cultivator, and the profits of his stock. The expense of the cultivation of corn, as compared with that of the production of other commodities, has not increased. Consequently, every soil, which has afforded a surplus hitherto, must afford a surplus in time to come. Nay, there are circumstances which must gradually bring under the plough soils, which, as yet, it has not been possible to turn to advantage. Such is the diminution of the rate of profit. A piece of land which will yield twelve bushels of corn, eleven bushels having been expended in the cultivation, cannot be cultivated, while profits remain at 10 per cent.; but let them fall to 9 per cent., and the cultivation of it then becomes lucrative; first, because even if the expenses were the same as before, the excess of the produce is greater than the requisite rate of profit; and secondly, because the diminution of the rate of profit lowers the value of the articles consumed in cultivation; in other words, lessens the expenses of cultivation, and by that means creates an additional surplus. Improvements in agriculture, whereby an equal return is obtained at a diminished cost—improvements also in the manufacturing or commercial arts, in consequence of which, articles consumed in cultivation are supplied at a cheaper rate—all have a similar tendency. They all contribute to enlarge the circle over which cultivation may extend. They are all favourable to the landlord by increasing his surplus, or creating a surplus for him where none existed before; and improvements in manufactures and

commerce are more especially beneficial to him, because, at the same time that they add to the quantity of his surplus, they increase its exchangeable value as compared with that of the articles to the production of which they contribute.

The only thing which can interrupt this favourable course of events, is an increase of taxation affecting the expenses of cultivation. Such an increase operates like a diminution of fertility. By transferring to government a portion of the produce, it diminishes the fund out of which the expenses of cultivation are to be defrayed, and must, therefore, tend to render it impossible to cultivate soils, which, before the increase of taxes, afforded merely a bare profit. Probably, our taxation, as affecting the growth of corn, has not been reduced in proportion to the rise in the value of money, and, therefore, has in effect increased; for though landlords and farmers have been freed from the income tax, that imposition merely diminished rents and profits, without altering the expense of cultivation. The fall in the rate of profit, however, will be found to be an equivalent for the slight increase (if any) in the real amount of the taxes which enter as ingredients into the cost of growing corn; and consequently there is no reason for supposing, that the cultivation, even of the poorest soils which have been brought under the plough, will be permanently unprofitable hereafter. Unless the whole course of national affairs be altered; unless our capital shall be destroyed, or our manufacturing, and commercial arts, lost; unless the nature of our soil be impoverished, or the power of industry over it cease; our agriculture must not only maintain itself at the height which it has reached, but it must go on gradually increasing, and the situation of the landholder must in the same degree become more advantageous. The prospects of the farmer are different. Except in so far as, by his personal toil and that of his family, he comes into the class of labourers, he must be in the situation of other capitalists. As the rate of profit becomes less, his income must be impaired, and his circumstances deteriorated.

With this conviction, that the existing distress is of a very temporary nature, and is not such as to stop our career of national prosperity, we shall now examine the schemes by which it has been proposed to apply an artificial remedy to present evils; and we shall be prepared to bear the disappointment with patience, if we find their efficacy to be much below that which their proposers expect.

We shall begin with the scheme, which, having been proposed by ministers, will probably be adopted—that of loans to parishes upon the security of their rates. It cannot be meant, that the loan should be employed by the parish itself; for in that case, it

would amount merely to a present increase of parish expenditure upon the credit of future rates, in opposition to the best established doctrines of law, and all the dictates of common sense. If, again, the loan is advanced by the parish to individuals, it can be useful only to those, who, by the time of repayment, shall be able to have funds sufficient for the cultivation of their farms, but who could not obtain these funds in the intervening period. To a farmer, for instance, who has a large stock of grain on hand, which he cannot dispose of, such a temporary relief might be of service. In general, however, we can see no mode in which it can be expected to confer essential benefit: while, on the contrary, we cannot help apprehending, that it may prove to many the occasion of plunging still deeper into embarrassment. It may give them the means of clearing off some of their arrears of rent, and other pressing debts; and when the time of repayment arrives, individuals and parishes will suffer together. The rates are a fund for the payment of certain inevitable expenses. They are appropriated by their very nature. To mortgage them, therefore, is, in other words, to expose a parish to the payment of double rates. The former loans to the commercial interest stood upon a principle entirely different. They were advances upon the security of property exceeding in value the sum lent. The proposed loan is to be made to men, who, being without property, have no security to give. We cannot even imagine in what respect this remedy can meet any of the peculiar circumstances of the evil. Its greatest praise is, that it is not likely to do much harm. It has often been said, that an ambassador must know how to talk without saying any thing; and we are almost tempted to believe, that one of the first requisites in a minister is to seem to be doing something, when he is in reality doing nothing.

Another scheme, which has been frequently mentioned, is, to change our system of taxation, and replace the greater part of our excise duties by an income tax. Articles, which now contribute to the excise, would become cheaper, and, the expenses of cultivation being thereby diminished, poorer soils might be brought under the plough, if an increasing population should require an increasing supply of corn. As a remedy for a temporary evil, it is liable to the objection of throwing additional pressure upon the classes who have already suffered and continue to suffer,—the landholders and capitalists; and of these two it presses most heavily on the latter, who, in fact, are the persons who stand most in need of relief. To the capitalist it would diminish his profits; and that to an amount probably greater than the tax; since by lessening the quantity of capital requisite for cultivation, it would expose each portion of capital to an in-

creased competition. So far as respects the landlord, though immediately oppressive, it might ultimately be advantageous to him; because it would increase both the quantity and the exchangeable value of the surplus which constitutes his rent. Considering the scheme as a permanent system of taxation, it is sufficient to remark, that the profit on capital, having in a progressive state of society a constant tendency to become less, should be spared in taxation; and that, on the contrary, rent, always increasing, is a fund peculiarly fit for yielding contributions to meet the public exigencies.

All the other plans of relief resolve themselves into a diminution of taxation; and it is demanded on the ground both of justice and policy, that those burdens should be removed first, which affect agriculture directly. The claim is supported on the ground of justice, because the farmer, it is said, pays more than his due share of the public burdens. When you call for proof of this assertion, reference is immediately made to the poor's rates. The amount of the poor's rates is however greater in appearance than in reality, for in many parts of the kingdom a considerable portion of the wages of agricultural labour is paid in the shape of rates. Nor does the amount, such as it is, fall exclusively on the landed interest. A very large proportion of it is borne by the other classes of the community; for proof of which we appeal to the rates raised in London, and in all our manufacturing and commercial towns and villages. But whatever be the amount of the burden borne by the landed interest, it is not paid by the cultivator; for it is impossible to subject capital employed in agriculture to any peculiar disadvantage. It is a charge upon the rent; and for this charge the proprietor is perhaps more than indemnified, by the tendency of the poor laws to diminish the recompense of labour, and thereby the expenses of cultivation.

But even if there were taxes which affected agriculture directly, we should question the policy of repealing these in preference to others. A tax on soap raises the price of that article. So the taxes in question must raise the price of corn; and the repeal of them, by lowering that price, would aggravate the inconveniences which the farmer has experienced from the alteration in the value of money. Indeed, we are inclined to believe, that the principal reason why agricultural produce has sustained a greater fall of price than most other commodities, is, that it has been less burdened with taxation. Let two articles sell each for 10*l.*, and let the taxation which enters into the price of the one be 6*l.*, while that on the other is only 2*l.*: if money rise in value one-fourth, the former will fall to 9*l.*, the latter to 8*l.*; and the dealers in the latter will be exposed to more inconvenience, than those who have invested their capital in the former.

On the other hand, by the removal of excise duties, the commodities subject to excise fall in price, and the exchangeable value of agricultural produce is augmented, at the same time that the expences of cultivation are diminished. Any advantage that might be expected from the other scheme in consequence of an increased demand for corn, occasioned by the diminution of its price, will be equally obtained by this plan; for, less being spent in exciseable commodities, there remains a surplus which may be applied either in procuring more agricultural produce, or in any other manner, according to the particular circumstances of the society and of each individual in it. On these grounds we are inclined to believe, that the removal of taxes on articles of general consumption would be more beneficial to the agricultural interest, than the repeal of burdens directly affecting the production of corn.

The advantages, however, that would accrue from a diminution of taxation, would neither be so great nor so immediate, as is generally imagined. Even if that boon were conceded to us instantaneously, its effects would be slow and gradual, and it would have no peculiar operation in favour of the agriculturists. It would not restore any part of their lost capital; it would not relieve them from their contracts; it would not augment their rate of profit. Indeed, by contributing to bring prices even lower than the present level, it would make the pressure of the fixed money-payments, to which they are subject, still more heavy. It should farther be considered, that taxation, so far as it affects rent, has no operation upon those among whom the existing agricultural distress originates,—we mean the farmers; and that the consumption of those articles, which contribute most largely to the public revenue, is more general among the commercial and manufacturing classes, than among the agricultural. To convince ourselves that the present embarrassments have little connection with taxation, we have only to look to the situation of Ireland. The whole revenue of Ireland is about four millions, of which one half arises from the excise and assessed taxes; yet the distress is infinitely greater there than among us. Were every contribution to the state to be taken away to-morrow, is any man visionary enough to believe, that any great or sudden improvement in the situation of that country would take place? Scotland, with a population not exceeding one third of that of our sister island, and with a soil and climate comparatively unfavourable, pays, in excise alone, a sum nearly equal to half the total revenue of Ireland, and yet has not one tenth part of the distress. Ireland is, perhaps, more lightly taxed than any country in the industrious parts of Europe,—much more lightly than France, and most parts of Germany and Italy; and one impor-



tant truth for the consideration of the English agriculturist is, that if he can stand the competition of the Irish grower of corn, he has little reason to dread the competition of countries more remote and more heavily burdened.

Though we cannot ascribe to the diminution of taxation all the various virtues which it is commonly supposed to possess, it is still a most important advantage: and it is pleasing to be able to entertain a firm assurance, that it is an advantage, which, if Europe remain in tranquillity, we must ere long enjoy to a considerable extent. Now, for the first time, we find ourselves with a revenue more than sufficient to meet the current expences of the year. The annual charge of our funded and unfunded debt is under 31 millions, which, by the proposed reduction of interest in the 5 per cents\*, will be brought down to less than 29½ millions: the expences of our government will be about 19 millions; so that our total expenditure will be under 49 millions. The net revenue of the last year was 55 millions; and, allowing a million and a half for the proposed repeal of part of the duty on malt, and without supposing any increase, our income may be taken at 53½ millions. There will consequently be a surplus of 4½ millions, applicable to the reduction of the public debt. Hitherto we are acquainted only with the results of a debt, either stationary or increasing more or less quickly; for, up to the present time, the operation of our nominal sinking fund has been counteracted by a contemporary equal or greater increase of debt. Now that there is an effective surplus to be applied in the actual reduction of debt, the effect on the capital of the country will be such as it would seem almost extravagant to conjecture, and the time cannot be far distant, when government will find no difficulty in borrowing at 3 per cent. By that means the charge of the debt will be lowered to between 26 and 27 millions per annum. How far the annual expenses of government may be reduced below their present amount, it is not equally easy to tell. Of all duties which fall to the lot of rulers, that of retrenchment is the most difficult and severe. Look only at the private establishment of an opulent nobleman at his country seat; see what difficulty there is in regulating it, so as to keep the cost of its maintenance within moderate limits, though the master's eye, quickened by a strong and immediate interest, is constantly present; and, after all that can be done in the way of prudent management, how much waste there still is, how many

\* The policy of converting the 5 per cents into 4 per cents when the 4 per cents are under par (say at 97), may be questioned. However much the rate of interest may fall, we shall not be able to avail ourselves of it until after three years, without incurring a loss, in consequence of the nominal capital created, which will be greater than the intermediate saving of interest.

persons and things, whose services are not wanted, and how much superfluous expense insinuates itself into even the necessary arrangements of the household. He who takes these things into consideration, and then reflects on the multitude, the variety, the complexity, in many cases the distance of the establishments for conducting and protecting our public administration in different parts of the world, will not be hasty to condemn our rulers, because the work of retrenchment does not proceed so rapidly as he might wish. It is a work, which, above all others, requires time and investigation : rapidity there, is for the most part cruelty and injustice. The most important species of economy is that, which, without diminishing the services obtained, but distinguishing between what contributes effectively to them, and that which is mere incumbrance or superfluity, accomplishes the same ends at a diminished expense. This species of economy requires a minute knowledge of the smallest details in every branch of the public service, which can scarcely be expected to be found in the principal functionaries of state, and which subordinate officers will often have an interest in suppressing. It is for this reason that we owe much gratitude to that indefatigable individual, whose searching industry brings almost every part of our public establishments before the view of the public, and forces upon ministers a knowledge, of which, but for him, they would not feel the want. Without proceeding in the career of retrenchment quite so far as this laborious pioneer has proposed, no doubt can be entertained, but that our expenditure may still be diminished considerably. Several large heads of it consist of payments to individuals who served in the late war, and must naturally diminish in every successive year. Other charges must be affected by the change in the value of money. Upon the whole, we make no extravagant supposition, if we conjecture that, in a short time, our permanent annual expenditure will not exceed 16 or 17 millions: so that, with the interest of our debt, as estimated above, our whole yearly outgoings will be about 43 or 44 millions. We shall then have nearly a sum of 10 millions, increased by the accumulations of interest on the sums which shall, in the mean time, be redeemed, and by any intervening improvement that may take place in the revenue, applicable annually to the reduction of our national debt.

With these prospects, it may fairly be made a matter of grave deliberation, whether it would not be prudent, immediately to remove taxes to nearly the amount of the probable surplus of the year. The principle, on which such a measure would be recommended, is, the superior value of present relief, and the unnecessary hardship of paying off any part of the debt in a time of distress. The objections to it are, its tendency to delay the arrival of the

time, when we shall be able to enjoy the relief arising from the diminution of the interest of the debt, and the probability that, on the same grounds, every successive surplus of income will hereafter be looked on, not as a fund for lessening our debt, but as a means of lessening our taxes. At the present moment either alternative may be adopted without serious detriment to the country. Even with its present taxes it will prosper. And should these taxes be lessened by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions more than ministers propose to take off, a surplus revenue will still exist, small, indeed, at present, but likely to increase rapidly. Ministers, however, in limiting the relief from public burdens to the saving which accrues from the reduction of the interest on the debt, have adopted a rational and prudent principle. If they are in an error, it is the very uncommon error of preferring a greater distant to a less present good—the permanent welfare of the country to their own popularity.

With such prospects before us, what shall we say of those men, who presume openly to recommend a national bankruptcy? The time has been, when even political adventurers would have been ashamed to hold the language, which is now constantly in the mouths of our country gentlemen. They, who in times past were always revered as the soundest part of the community, have allowed their fancy to be stimulated by the project of plundering the fundholders, in order to gain a little for themselves. They are ashamed, however, publicly to proclaim themselves robbers, and they therefore endeavour to varnish over their injustice with a kind of diluted equity. They pretend, for instance, that it is not fair to pay, in our present money, the interest of sums borrowed in a depreciated currency. But, even on their own principle, they must indemnify the public creditor for the loss he has sustained in past times, in consequence of the temporary depreciation of money; they must increase the interest on the whole of the old debt, contracted when the money-prices of articles were even lower than at present; and they must protect the fundholders against every future fall in the value of money. By such arrangements the nation would lose instead of gaining by her fraud:—for fraud it most undoubtedly is, to interfere on any pretext with the faith of contracts. Did you specify in your contract with the public creditor, that he was to have all the loss, but none of the benefit, that might accrue from a variation in the value of money? And if you had introduced such a condition into your bargain, could you have borrowed on the same terms? Surely there is nothing in the situation of the fundholder, which should exclude him from his share of benefit in the vicissitudes of human affairs.

One set of projectors (and among them is the author of the

second of the above-mentioned pamphlets) propose, that we should pay, not the nominal capital of the debt, but only the sums actually advanced to government, with an equitable allowance for the higher rate of interest, which would, in that case, have been paid; or, in other words, they propose to augment our present burdens by increasing the annual charge of the debt, and to gain a distant future advantage, by annulling the terms of the contract between the nation and the public creditor, and by substituting, in its stead, such an agreement as shall to them seem meet. The wisdom and morality of this scheme are in admirable unison, "*quales decet esse sorores.*"

We cannot condescend to enter into a minute discussion of the absurdities and villany of such schemes of fraud: nor is it worth while. Far from being carried into effect, they will never be even listened to in Parliament. Whatever may be the temporary delusion of a few country gentlemen overwhelmed with mortgages, our great aristocratical interests, whether Whig or Tory, will support ministers in the maintenance of the public faith, and England will have another instance to add to the many already recorded in her history of the inestimable benefit accruing to a country from the compact political influence of opulent nobles. They have been called the ornamented Corinthian capital of society. The metaphor does not do them justice. They are, in fact, the key-stone of the political arch. They will not tolerate, that the fame of England should be tarnished, and that, too, in circumstances which hold out no motive or excuse for a public breach of faith.

To those who are willing to sacrifice public honour to their own imagined interests, we would suggest, that crimes, to accomplish their purpose, must go on in a long train, and that it would be well for them to consider, how the policy they recommend may probably terminate. If legislators, hurried by the impetuosity, or awed by the influence of one class, violate the legal rights of any part of the community, they must make more than one step in the career of injustice. The road will become rough and more thorny, as they proceed; and the final result will bring the heaviest destruction upon those, whose engrossing selfishness and mole-eyed ignorance first urged a deviation from the clear path of integrity.

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